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the ALTERNATIVE

Solzhenitsyn and the Soviet Dissenters
by Maurice Friedberg

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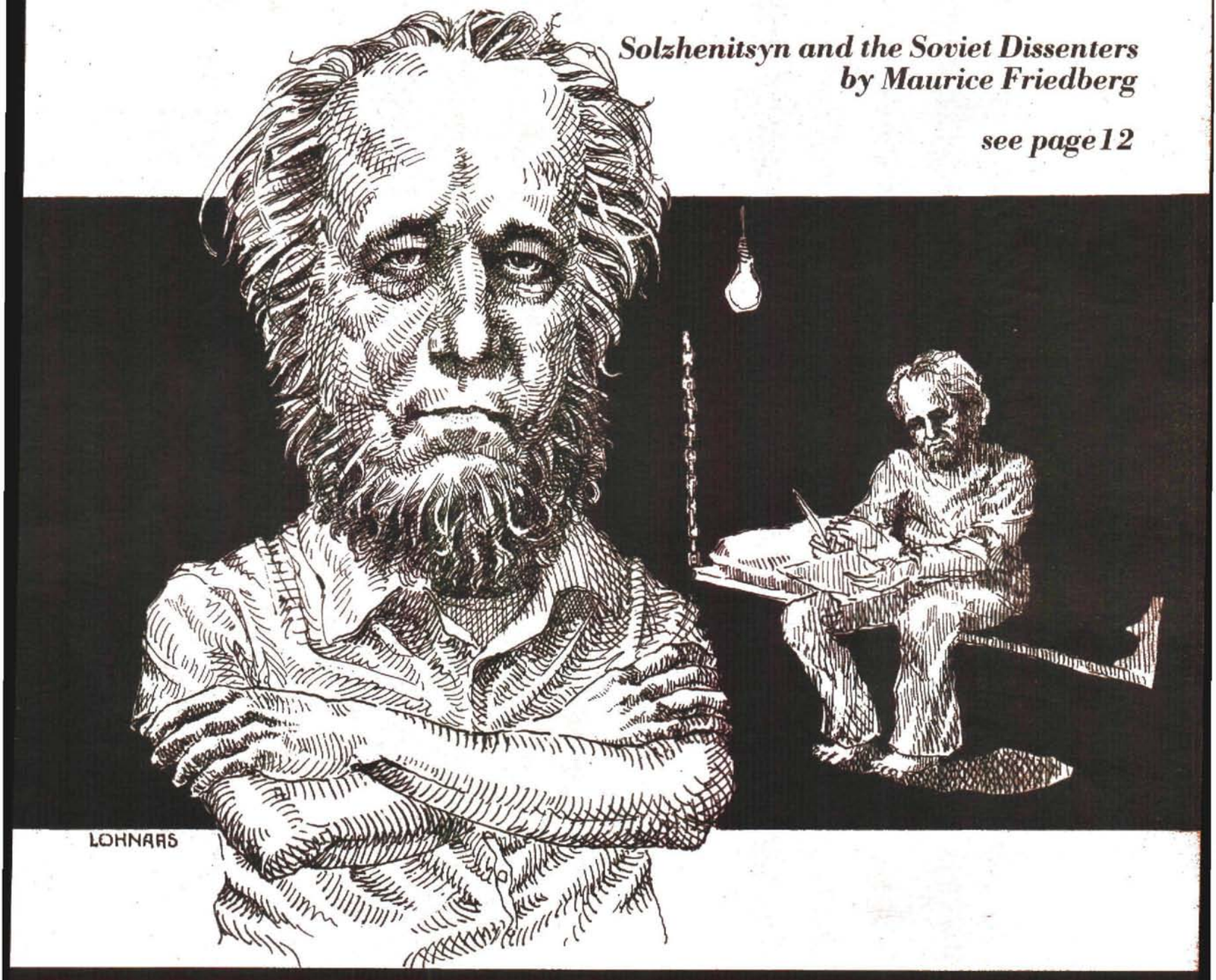

Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.
on Defending Liberalism

The Great American Saloon *by Aram Bakshian, Jr.*

The Energy Crisis *by Timothy J. Wheeler*

☆The Continuing Crisis☆

FEBRUARY 1974 AND across the width and breadth of America a concerned citizenry celebrated Ground-hog Day. In Hinsdale, Illinois, a ground hog living just off the Illinois Tollway was reported shot by irate truckers. And in Washington, D.C., the ground hog apparently saw his shadow, but was unable to distinguish it from the other shadowy figures that abound in those environs, for the city was promptly blanketed in its worst snow fall since the Harding Administration. And while on the subject of shadowy figures, the President unveiled a $300 billion budget, a prodigy of shadowy figures and slithering proposals that reminded one pundit of a kind of gigantic life insurance policy. Whether it will insure the President's life is still dubious.

■ A Gallup Poll did indicate that support for Mr. Nixon's performance in and around the White House has risen 3 percent, unfortunately there were less palmy indicators for the Administration to muse upon. In a vote extending broad power to the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment investigation, Mr. Nixon's forces were turned back 410 to 4, indicating a discernible mushiness in the Administration's support in the lower chamber. And Administration strategists are still perplexed by an apparent setback in the race for Vice President Gerald Ford's seat. After sixty-four years of dominance over the district, Republicans were mauled by Mr. Richard F. VanderVeen, a political ne'er-do-well who had lost every race he had ever entered, including the Saginaw County sack race.

■ On February 4 Mr. Egil (Bud) Krogh became the first of Mr. Nixon's law-and-order energumens to go to jail. The former White House aide whose imaginative anxieties about security had induced him to lead a mysterious White House cabal, since dubbed "the plumbers," left for jail just days after an obscure social justice organization in California, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), spirited off the daughter of Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr. and threatened mayhem upon her unless Mr. Hearst provided California's needy with $400 million of victuals. Little is known about the SLA save that its self-styled information officer, Mrs. Nancy Ling Perry, was once a topless blackjack dealer in San Francisco and an orange juice squeezer at a Berkeley juice bar. As this magazine goes to print, details for ransoming Miss Hearst are being worked out between her father and six public-spirited radical groups that have agreed, ever so hesitantly, to serve as negotiators and recipients of the Hearst ransom money. On February 21 another idealistic group, the American Revolutionary Army, kidnapped the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Mr. Reg Murphy. Finally that lonely struggle of California's Congressman Moss to end Secret Service protection of Mr. Spiro Agnew met with success, it having become obvious that in a country like the United States such armed security is utterly unnecessary and uneconomical.

■ Back in Washington, Pfc. Robert K. Preston became the first American ever to lead an aerial assault on the Presidential Palace. Mr. Preston, a hauntingly articulate helicopter mechanic, commandeered a "Huey" helicopter from Maryland's Tipton Airfield and began a daring two-hour flight to Washington (a trip generally taking 15 minutes) which ended when his craft was brought down on the White House's south lawn in a hail of shotgun pellets and weird music. Fortunately, the President's daughter, Julie, had earlier undergone emergency surgery in Indianapolis, so her mother and her husband were not in the executive mansion when Mr. Preston's helicopter arrived. Mr. Nixon was of course floating in Key Biscayne with his distinguished chum, Mr. Bebe Rebozo.

■ Predappio, Italy, witnessed one of the most dastardly acts ever committed in that famous city when a cowardly fiend made off in the dark of the night with two offering boxes from the tomb of Mr. Benito Mussolini, the former Italian statesman and efficiency expert. Congratulations are in order for Mr. Lysander Small of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, who, after bungling suicide attempts that entailed shooting himself in the head, slashing his wrists, ingesting overdoses of sleeping pills, and throwing himself into an oncoming train, finally accomplished his life's ambition by imbibing a copious draught of hydrochloric acid. Back in the States, Mrs. Vincent Ostrowski of Chicago, Illinois, was beaten to death by the fins of a washing machine when her bra strap became entangled in the drum. Within hours Chicago's Consumers' Emergency Investigating Unit (CEIU) was on the scene, but to little avail —Mrs. Ostrowski is a goner, and her washing machine is a wreck, a fact that will not go unmentioned in CEIU's report. Finally a tale of singular sepulchral grimness comes from Fort Lauderdale where local beach boy, Sudsie Sautier, died violently on a beach after consuming a pound of unpopped popcorn, two quarts of beer and then stretching out in the sun.

■ Perhaps it is another example of the confusion brought to Washington by the Watergate scandals, but Professor G. Etzel Pearch's visionary proposal to recast the map of America into thirty-eight renamed states is hopelessly flummoxed in red tape. There seems little likelihood that the proposal will be adopted in this session of Congress, though the University of California geography professor persuasively argues that the savings to state government alone would amount to $4.6 million. And unexpected move by San Francisco policemen pleasantly surprised anxious civil libertarians when police refused to close one of that enlightened city's most advanced cultural attractions, its encounter parlors. Until otherwise stated, these famed salons will remain open to discriminating clients of either sex who pay one dollar a minute to talk to naked hostesses. If clients wish to pay a bit more, nude hostesses will talk back to them, and the more intellectually gifted hostesses will even read from pornographic books. Buds of cultural freedom were even seen in Spain where the supreme court held the possession of *Playboy* magazine tasteless but licit. On the other hand the struggles of two of America's leading political liberals, Rupert Vance Hartke and Vincent A. Hill, for the preservation and dilation of American freedom received stunning setbacks. Mr. Hartke, who has been affectionately tagged as "the Jackass of the Senate," struck out when his suit to exempt members of Congress from airport searches was dismissed out of hand, and Mr. Hill, a city council candidate in Santa Maria, California, whose sole issue is to legalize marijuana, was sent to the hoosegow for possession.

■ Women's Liberation continues to work marvels. The fiancée of Mr. Randy Steven Pigg refused to marry him until he changed his name to the more elegant name of Kendric. Wholesale prices soared at a 37.2 percent seasonally adjusted annual rate. And that plan for castrating rapists was rejected in the Georgia Senate by a vote of 33 to 19. In London, Mr. Basil Brown became the world's first victim of carrot juice addiction. The English scientist, who was known to ingest almost one million units of Vitamin A per day, collapsed in a London produce market. The pathologist who performed the autopsy stated that the effect of Mr. Brown's enormous intake of Vitamin A and carrot juice was indistinguishable from alcoholic poisoning. When he died his skin was bright yellow. On February 15 one of the three whooping cranes bred in captivity passed away. He would have been nineteen in June. And in Berkeley, public health officials closed the Rolling River Health Foods Shoppe when as yet unidentified bacteria growing on a shelf of oatmeal bread began grabbing customers. Rolling River officials promised to consider putting preservatives in future loaves.

■ Finally some twenty-four hours after his arrest in Moscow, Mr. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Russian author, was flown to West Germany in the first known case of forcible exile from Russia since Leon Trotsky. Later in the month, after Mr. Solzhenitsyn moved to a temporary residence in Zurich, speculation grew as to if and when the Soviets would release the author's family and files. Less serious but equally lively speculation arose in America concerning how the *New York Times* would finally describe the philosophical position of this deeply religious advocate of traditional Russian life. Mr. Sakharov, the *Times* has described as a "twentieth century scientific liberal," and Mr. Medvedev is a "reform-minded Marxist-Leninist" but how to describe an anticommunist whose first public act in Switzerland was a visit to Mass? Presently the *Times* refers to him as a "classic slavophile novelist," but some day the music will have to be faced. □

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Special Editorial

The Energy Crisis—Solved!

ENERGY, ITSELF a marvelous and curious phenomenon, first drew scholarly attention in Germany. Funded by government subsidy, Baron Otto von Schilhammer diligently probed the mysteries of energy at the Krieger Institute, just outside of Düsseldorf. Von Schilhammer, affectionately known in scientific circles as "the Father of the Spark," astutely concluded in 1841 that splitting the atom would lead to a military potential beyond anyone's wildest dreams. Unable to substantiate his claim, the Baron was quickly ridiculed by the most respected academics of the day. He lost his professorial chair—the renown Aytobrot Appointment—in 1843, and disappeared from the scene altogether after concocting a breakfast nutriment that required more energy to digest than was actually provided in the cereal.

Eric Kotchestau, a student of von Schilhammer, continued the great scientist's work at the Berlin Technical Institute, near Frankfurt. In 1856, Kotchestau discovered that by making sweeping motions of his arm over a lit candle, the flame died. From this he concluded that the movement of his arm required more energy than that needed by the candle to remain aflame. Given a finite source of energy in his small laboratory, he further concluded that the candle died from energy starvation: the energy required by the sweeping arm motion deprived the flame. The Starvation Equation, $nAv=xC$, quickly followed (where n and x are any real numbers, v is the velocity of the sweeping arm motion, A is the size of the arm, and C, the power of the candles). Clearly, if n is significantly greater than x, then v is insignificant and C will quickly die. Similarly, if x is significantly greater than either n or v, then a compensatingly high n or v value is demanded to satisfy the properties of the equation. (Irskin, an American working at Princeton, briefly explored the time factor by factoring the right hand side of the equation by element t. His findings yet require confirmation.)

The importance of the von Schilhammer-Kotchestau research far exceeds candle quenching. More vital is the stunningly common-sense proposition that human energy can perform useful functions. Indeed, while the Starvation Equation repeatedly comes under heavy academic fire, one caveat remains absolutely unchallenged: Man-produced movement, when harnessed efficiently, can be put to powerful-good use.

With this in mind, the question now reduces to: How can "man-action" produce usable energy? For a solution, we turn to muscles. Man's most powerful muscle is his heart. However, since harnessing heart-power has proven difficult for the scientist and fatal to the donor after about three seconds, perhaps we had better turn to the leg muscles, whose reliability and accessibility are thus far unquestioned. Dr. Beauregard Meltzer, writing in the track-and-field journal *Wind Sprint*, points out: ". . . The average American walks about 3,800 miles annually. In total, our nation of 200 million—padding to and fro in our offices, pushing our carts in supermarkets, walking to our cars and from our cars—trod more than 760 billion miles in 1972. To put this in some perspective, remember that our sun is a mere 93 million miles away."

Given an average of 1 yard per step, to walk a mile requires 1,760 paces. To walk 760 billion miles requires 1,760 × 760 billion or 1,337,600 billion paces. Imagine if each step produced energy!

While harnessing every step taken by every American appears to be out of the question—forced harnessing might precipitate a civil liberties–constitutional question—a more feasible plan might be implemented. Currently, the number of unemployed, healthy Americans hovers around 5 million. Though these people may have a higher average annual walking mileage than the norm of 3,800, owing to weekly journeys *a pied* to pick up unemployment checks, presumably these folks also spend more time sitting down—doing nothing—than might be expected of working citizens. If the unemployed-per-person-sitting-down-time averages, say, 5 hours daily, then the nation's jobless spend about 25 million hours annually on their rumps. Simple arithmetic shows that, given a leisurely 3

miles per hour walking speed, unemployed Americans could potentially walk 25 million × 1,760 × 3, or 132,000 million additional yearly paces.

Private enterprise need only seize the opportunity to harness these steps for energy production. By constructing tremendous treadmills—a side benefit here goes to builders, contractors, and capital providing financial institutions—coupled to enormous electrical generators and by erecting the entire assembly in high unemployment, i.e., poverty areas, the solution to the energy crisis might figuratively be at hand, quite literally at foot. Unemployed persons would provide an ideal labor force to power the treadmills. Indeed, a person *sans* job would be induced to spend his 5 daily do-nothing hours on the tread by good wages and work close to home, to say nothing of patriotic fulfillment. Since the mere act of walking requires no education and little skill, practically everyone would qualify for treadmill work. Crawling babies could be put on specially constructed, absorbent, "junior-mills." Treadmill operations would simultaneously alleviate the energy crisis while creating an abundance of jobs, all leading to a rise in the standard of living.

Treading need not be a permanent job. Housewives wanting to work just a few hours daily or weekly would certainly qualify. Part-time work for high school and college students, brief lunch-hour strolls for already employed workers, and night shifts are all within the realm of possibility. Home treadmills could be installed for household self-sufficiency. Factories could build industrial strength treadmills, leaving existing power supplies exclusively for municipal use.

Another attractive feature of the treadmill concept is that it embraces a positive physical-fitness attitude. Competitive treading could be developed. Athletes could do roadwork on the tread, sharing it with jogging executives. Best of all, by merely walking on the tread, employees would rid themselves of extra pounds while stimulating healthy appetites—an indirect boon to farmers who will be called on to produce more and higher-grade food.

Aside from the tremendous advantage gleaned in the United States from the treadmills, the world-wide treading affects would be truly astonishing. Since treading is labor intensive, the more populous countries are even better suited for this energy solution than the United States. Crowded third-world nations like Indonesia could potentially generate the world's energy supply. China's potential, needless to remind, is staggering—sufficient, perhaps, for broadcasting the thoughts of Mao to Alpha Centauri. The poor, crowded, malnourished nations of today could conceiveably become the rich, well-fed, energy suppliers of tomorrow. The price of energy most probably would not drop, despite an increased supply, because the demand for energy might be expected to increase as a result of the general rise in the standard of living and the demand for more and more consumer goods. Indeed, all sectors of the economy would benefit.

To solve the energy crunch, Americans must use imagination and originality. The treadmill might well be the answer not only for the energy problem, but for the irksome ills of unemployment, poverty, thirdworld agitation, sagging economies, and sagging stomachs. The inexorable turn of the vicious circle *can* be stopped. Let's just put our foot down, and give a little push with our legs as we do so.

Robert Stearns

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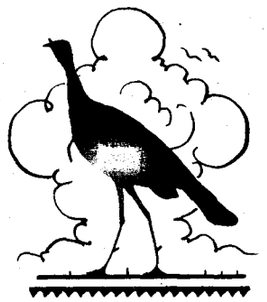

Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.

Defending Liberalism

LYNDON JOHNSON'S death on the day before the peace settlement in Vietnam was announced gave Richard Nixon the opportunity, while making the announcement, of vindicating Johnson against his critics. It was a chance befitting the course of events, for Nixon's policy has rescued Johnson's, and with it Johnson's supporters, the liberal Democrats whom he inherited. Now they need not abase themselves before radical critics of the war or before liberal defectors who claimed to be "right from the first." Those who had the wisdom or dignity to go "all the way with LBJ"—in many cases further than LBJ himself went—can now return to being liberals as distinguished from radicals or radical-liberals. But they must do so with the appalling recognition that Richard Nixon made it possible. This obligation is not cancelled by Watergate; it is only made more painful.

Why do liberals have so much trouble defending themselves? Liberalism as an "ism" implies a body of doctrine, a more or less consistent whole more or less closed to doctrines inconsistent with itself. But it is evident that liberalism, if it is a whole, is a whole that is afraid to be a whole—and therefore has difficulty in rousing partisans to its defense. To defend oneself it is necessary to recognize the enemy, and thus to have defined oneself against the enemy. Liberals, however, are tolerant, and to show their tolerance they favor a large and various society in which all groups, even enemies, are encouraged to take an interest. Liberal society is a society of interest groups, with the consequence that there is no interest group for liberalism. Even the American Civil Liberties Union, which might seem to be such a group, defends not liberals but the enemies of liberalism, in the spirit (though not the letter) of the maxim attributed to Voltaire that "I disapprove of what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it." To a degree, this lack of spirit on the part of liberals is merely silly complacency, but to a greater degree, it reveals the nature of liberalism as originally propounded.

*

Let us turn from the "liberalism" of today's partisan rhetoric, which is opposed to "conservatism," and "radicalism" to the liberalism of America's founders which comprises all three positions or parts of them. The best explanation of that liberalism is to be found in the papers of ***The Federalist***, and in No. 10 (written by James Madison) we find clear and authoritative thoughts on liberal society as a whole and partisanship within it. ***The*** problem of a free society, according to ***Federalist*** No. 10, is the control of faction, for in the free society produced by a popular government, the question immediately arises of what to do about those citizens who abuse freedom to the detriment of others or of society as a whole. When combined, such citizens are defined by the author as a faction, which is a number of citizens, whether a minority or a majority, actuated by passion or interest against the rights of others or "the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." Two methods of cure are proposed for factions: removing the causes and controlling the effects. Of the first cure, there are again two methods: abolishing liberty, which is immediately dismissed as a remedy worse than the disease, and "giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests." This method of curing factions is also rejected, but with reasoning that reveals the fundamental difficulty liberalism has in defending itself.

Madison argues simply and cogently: "As long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves." To this he adds "the diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originate" as an insuperable obstacle to uniform interests. Protection of these faculties is the first object of government, and since diverse faculties produce different degrees and kinds of property—and property influences opinions—society will be divided into different interests and parties. "The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man," Madison concludes. These causes, to repeat, are self-love and diverse faculties, and they come together in property. Although men zealously dispute over different opinions on religion or government, or attach themselves to ambitious or exciting men, "the most common and durable source of factions" has been property in its different degrees and kinds.

Because of human nature, then, society has no sameness of opinion, passion, or interest; and *liberal* society is managed by a government whose principles and practices recignize and respect the character and strength of human nature. "Modern legislation"—for the necessity of bowing to human nature so understood has only recently been discovered—"involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government." ***Federalist*** No. 10 goes on to show how government can control the effects of faction, especially majority faction. Majority faction is more difficult to control in a popular government than minority faction, because majority faction looks like the republican principle of majority rule, whereas minority faction must work against the genius of republican government. Majority faction may be controlled by delegating government to representatives and by extending the sphere of society to "take in a greater variety of parties and interests."

A majority faction, Madison says, must be obstructed by ***preventing*** the existence of the same passion or interest in the majority, which is the purpose of delegating government to "fit characters" meeting apart from the majority; and majority faction can be ***prevented*** from concerting together in the extended sphere of a large republic taking in a variety of parties and interests. Thus we see that the sameness which was said to be impossible to produce without destroying liberty must indeed be prevented from coming into existence and operation, in order to secure liberty. In a large republic it is less probable that a majority will have "a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens," but this is because citizens are less likely to have a common motive at all. Or, they have a

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similar motive, each working at the interest, especially the property interest, which will best prevent the creation of a ***common*** motive. Apparently, the latent cure for faction, as well as the latent causes, is sown in the nature of man.

From this argument it becomes evident that liberalism has a reasonable fear of being or becoming a whole. Liberal society not only thrives on variety, but requires it for survival; and its sameness is distributive rather than collective. As we saw, Madison defined the whole endangered by faction as "the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." Yet it remains true that liberalism must defend itself as a whole, and hence collectively. Self-interest or group interests, being divided from each other, cannot supply either the motive or the instrument of self-defense, since self-defense is not effectual except when all defend themselves together and spiritedly. Adding interests to make an "aggregate" is successful when the purpose is to add to one's interests, but when under attack, one may leave the aggregate rather than defend it. Now it is to liberals so circumstanced, divided in interest and united only in tolerance, feeling guilty when defending themselves against nonliberals and feeling uneasy when they do not, that radicalism makes its appeal. Radicalism offers a view of liberal society as a whole which may be grasped and then defended as the true liberalism against the confused so-called liberals. Radicalism will supply both the whole and the partisanship that liberalism needs.

*

Radicalism supplies an understanding of the whole to liberalism by its analysis of liberal society as a whole, epitomized in the phrase of Herbert Marcuse, "repressive tolerance." Among liberals, the phrase has currency as the name of a conservative policy mistakenly followed by some liberals today, for which a policy of greater permissiveness could readily be substituted. But that is not what Marcuse meant, and that is not what radicalism asks or requires of liberals. "Repressive tolerance" exposes to liberals the unheard-of fact that in a liberal society liberals somehow come out on top. They do not rule the society but they administer it, using permissive tolerance as the means of dissipating nonliberal opposition. For nonliberals are first allowed the opportunity of purging their partisan humors and then offered the temptation of developing an interest in public talk and private gain. This administered tolerance lacks the ceremony of a formal embrace and the warmth of an informal hug, but to call it "repressive" would seem to be an act of aggression following from downright revulsion. But such is not the case; there is admiration in the phrase. Tolerance need not be rejected because it can be made militant—that is, subversive and liberating. Liberal tolerance once had organized religion for its enemy, and liberal philosophers like Milton and Locke made it clear that liberal tolerance was not for the intolerant, not for the clerics who would not tolerate liberalism.

Thus "repressive tolerance," despite its cloying hospitality and its bland disclaimers today, had a partisan bite when first brought forth. ***Ecraser l'infame!*** said the same Voltaire who is quoted otherwise by the ACLU. Radicalism has attempted to recover this original aggressiveness for itself and for the purpose or with the effect of attracting liberals, not with blandishments but with a shocking reminder to make them believe that contemporary radicals are the original liberals revived. Liberals can feel their own community and learn to assert it in self-defense by recalling that liberalism was a revolutionary doctrine, and by turning from the system of liberty now established to liberalism in its phase of liberation. Despite their accusations against liberals, radicals present themselves as friendly to liberals, or rather the more consistent (because original) liberals. They do this, to be sure, not by direct appeal to liberal philosophers and statesmen, but with the apparently liberal doctrine of the liberated self. Inspired with this doctrine, the liberal can know himself and defend himself against the enemies of the radicals. But are these ***his*** enemies? The answer depends on whether "the liberated self" is indeed a liberal or a wholesome doctrine.

To profess the "liberated self," radicals do not make a frontal attack on liberal politics, or on the American Constitution. They do advocate "power to the people," claiming that under liberalism the people suffer from a sense of powerlessness. But this complaint sounds very different from Madison's political concern for factions adverse to the rights of others and to the interests of the community. Evidently, it represents or constitutes the expression of the unliberated self in the act of liberating itself. For according to radicalism, tolerance is possible altogether without limitations on the activities of the self. "Repressive tolerance" having the purpose or effect of keeping liberal society liberal is no longer necessary, and the liberal pretension of allowing men to live as they like can now be realized.

The reason why tolerance can now be unlimited and become liberating is that the "struggle for existence" no longer need continue. It is this struggle, according to radicalism, which turns men against each other and forces men to calculate means of overcoming other men and to conspire in secret against them. Since society—liberal capitalist society, it will be admitted—now produces an abundance sufficient to make "the struggle for existence" seem a dramatic phrase for a forgotten condition, the necessity of struggle has been eliminated, and the excuse for repression has been made obsolete. The competitive struggle still carried on in this fat society has lost any connection to need, and men go through the paces of enterprise and employment pretending that their lives depend on success, while knowing that they do not. Only unnecessary repression maintains these silly and harmful habits based on self-delusion and self-repression. It is now possible for reason to cease its calculating, conspiratorial promotion of self-interest and come out into the open. Society can be ruled by reason, as was the hope of liberal tolerance; but contrary to the fears of liberals, reason can rule society without politics. Not only does reason not rule in the guise of a ruling opinion supposedly unreasonable; this would be, or run the risk of becoming, the majority faction that Madison sought to avoid. But also, the indirect administration of various interests by involving "the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government" can be foregone. The activities of the self can become "expression," an outward release of energy over the fallen constraints of embarrassment, respect, and awe. Liberal tolerance itself is raised to the radical extremes of excitation, provocation, and shock. Precisely because we can be confident that reason can rule society without government, we need no longer stop or even hesitate at the supposed boundaries of unreason. Precisely because no justification exists for self-defense against rivals and enemies, we can loose our anger at the restraints, justifiably called "repression," which remain. Free society is overdue, and we can begin to live it now. We can be liberated from the administered system of liberty by acting as if we were already liberated. A difference does exist between hard and soft radicals as to the necessity of a transition, the former asserting that the experience of alienation builds militancy, and the latter wondering why not now? But the possibility of "now" unites them with the belief that, in principle at least, the future can be seized and lived in the present. On the way to being liberated *is* liberation.

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As compared to ***Federalist*** No. 10, then, radicalism sees no problem in the connection between reason and self-love. Its premise is that selfishness is caused by the struggle for existence. This struggle forces men apart by making them aware of their separate bodies and responsive to separate and competing needs. But when each belly is satisfied, the self is apparently liberated from concern with its own separate body and becomes capable of acting as if it shared a common body with other members of the class, the society, or mankind. Individual pleasures remain, including the pleasures of separate bodies interacting, but they are a matter of choice among delights because no individual pleasure subtracts from another, either for oneself or for others. Chance made us with separate bodies only so that we could have fun rubbing them against each other.

Liberalism is not against fun, but it does not hold this opinion. Clearly the danger of faction refers to the struggle for superfluities. Different property interests arise from diverse faculties as applied to self-love, not from a scramble to supply one's needs. "Self-love" seems to be a name for ambition understood generally as one's competitive sense or spirit of self-defense. It is associated with an appetite but it cannot be satisfied with any goods but those which are by their nature scarce, such as honors. Even if each body were satisfied in its separate appetites, it is implied, a man with self-love would be angry if his separateness were not recognized with appropriate distinctions of respect and prestige. The psychology of ***The Federalist*** is of course much less visible than its politics—the reverse of radicalism—but it seems to propose that the angry passions of self-love be contained with the principle of self-interest. Self-interest allows for the dif-

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ferences demanded by men's self-love, and so does not presume that the satisfied self is ready to amalgamate with others in a common body; but at the same time it turns ambition to the bourgeois desire for property, away from the pseudoaristocratic love of victory and command.

To encourage the desire for property allows something to ambition, but different degrees and kinds of property translate success into terms in which one man's victory is not so clearly another man's defeat as in politics. Self-interest is thus more open to persuasion on behalf of "the permanent and aggregate interests of the community" than is political ambition, because unlike ambition, self-interest can be calculated as if men shared a common body (as we have seen): what is good for me can be good for you. In the persuasion of interests, reason is the instrument and free speech its guaranteed right. This is not to say that liberalism supports free speech for the sole purpose of uniting men in societies by persuading them to their self-interest; it also has the nobler purpose of uniting mankind by inspiring the advance of science. So reason promotes the interest of society and that of mankind in the separate vocations of politicians on the one hand, and scientists and intellectuals on the other. Yet these kinds of vocations are connected by their interest in a whole, and the American founders followed both.

In the liberal system, self-love is calculated as self-interest, and reason stands for the interest of the whole. The business of liberal politicians is to connect them. To do this they must be acquainted with both the low and the high in human nature and must have a sense of how the one can be raised and the other lowered to make (so far as possible) a community of free men. This means that in making the connection between self-love and reason they must never forget the difference. For self-love is as adamant in its defensiveness as reason is unbending and high-minded. Under liberal constitutionalism, therefore, political institutions have the double function of stating differences and bringing about agreement. When those institutions work well, they bring about agreement by consent and through persuasion; but they begin with the need to gain consent from men who have the right to withhold it. The resulting agreement is typically by majority vote rather than unanimous, and by a coalition that mixes interest and principle rather than by either interest or principle alone. Agreement so attained gives liberal society its own sense of being a whole while recognizing, tolerating, or even purging its partisan humors. Such an agreement holds better than a mere aggregate of interests because it is tested by opposition while it is made, and men stick to positions they have defined in partisan dispute. Liberal politics solves the problem of reason and self-love, when it does, by solving it again and again, not once and for all. Liberal institutions are an aid to this continuing solution, no doubt an indispensable aid, but they do not guarantee a solution merely by being instituted. On the contrary, they work by recreating and then resolving the problem for whose solution they were originally instituted. If liberal institutions could guarantee a solution, men would be such that liberal institutions would not be needed.

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This remark returns us to contemporary radicalism because we are reminded of its indifference to liberal political institutions and of its hostility to the difficult process of gaining consent. What is the difference between liberal self-interest and radical self-expression? We see immediately that the notion of self-expression combines free speech and self-interest not by connecting them but by equating them: self-expression is the free expression of one's self-interest. But to make free speech and self-interest identical, it is necessary to change them. Since the liberated self does not respect the necessary separateness of human beings in their separate bodies, its self-interest is appetite only, with no recognition of human defensiveness and anger. The consequence is not the redirection of ambition to property and the taming of anger by appetite, as with liberalism, but the redirection of anger. Radicals take umbrage not at those individuals with whom they may compete, but at the system of competition as a whole. They are angry at anger, and therefore more angry than the angry —because those who compete in the "rat-

race" of liberal society cannot win merely by getting angry, but those who believe they care nothing for success have no reason to restrain their anger. Indeed they understand their anger as reason, and therefore free speech not as persuasion but as giving vent to indignation. For radicals self-interest is all appetite in theory, and in practice all anger; free speech is all reason in theory, and in practice all anger. In both cases the practice is the consequence of the theory.

Self-expression is now becoming accepted in the practice of liberal society; partly by the process of administered tolerance that radicals describe, partly by simple inattention from the liberals. Recently the Supreme Court has accepted in some degree the self-expression of burning the flag or a draft card as instances of "free speech," although burning is not speaking and the purpose was not to persuade but to "demonstrate" and to "protest." It is as if the right of free speech were the right to be angry in public. The right of conscience is also used as the right to make a public spectacle by radicals who would have a hard job defining "conscience" as anything more than angry opinion. But the most expressive demonstrativeness has been saved for the matter of sex. Sex is an appetite, but an uncalculated appetite, hence available for use by anger (also uncalculated) as in obscenity, for example. In some demonstrations radicals have used obscenity as a kind of gesture in defiance of liberal society. Still, angry self-expression about sex is most visible today in the so-called movement (not interest group) of women's liberation.

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Speaking about women's liberation is not easy because it is natural to take the part of one's own gender. Indeed, to expect this is the beginning of wisdom on the subject, as opposed to that vestigial gentlemanliness which opens doors for angry women and acquiesces in everything they demand. This movement is based on the opinion that no feeling or activity is essentially feminine; those feelings and activities which have been considered feminine up to now have merely been imposed on women. There is a feminine body but not a feminine self, because the self (as we have seen) has the power of overcoming the separateness of bodies, including the sexual distinction. The self, indeed, would best reveal its power when it liberates itself from the weakness of female body—a weakness that must have some basis in fact if all the oppression hitherto has been male rather than female.

Women's liberation is liberation ***by*** women, but also ***from*** womanhood. It is an assertion, but of what? It cannot assert the rights of the womanhood from which it is trying to escape, and to claim the rights of manliness would be joining the class of oppressors and admitting that they were right. It must be that manliness is not essentially male, as indicated in the asserted fact that independence in the very crude sense of capacity for sexual satisfaction by oneself is possible for a woman as well as a man. The self-expression of women's liberation is an assertion of manliness liberated from the male body, and to demonstrate one's liberation from both female and male, it would be necessary to engage (not indulge: it would be a duty) in sexual activity, precisely where men and women have been imprisoned most in their sexual roles. At this point of culmination, women's liberation borrows not only from adolescent masculinity but also, surreptitiously and with outward signs of abhorrence, from the movement of sexual liberation, to get unisex and polymorphous perversity.

Still, doubts linger. Who will mind the home? asked Aristotle of a similar proposal (for a different purpose) made by a friend of his. And does not unisex bear a resemblance to masculine sex, after all, in its selfishness as well as in its independence? Men mistreat women when they consider women "sexual objects" in the sense of means to another's pleasure, but men achieve what tenderness and fidelity they are capable of when they consider women as sexual objects in the sense of ends to whose happiness one may be devoted. Thus unisex is not even masculine sex in the better sense. It is the expression of power without object, not appetite at all, but a generalized anger in defense of an impossible, imhuman common body.

Old-fashioned feminism promoted the feminine, instead of denying it. Liberalism

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gave a courtly welcome to feminism, and with reason, because feminism was based on the sexual distinction and recognized the separateness of human beings. With less reason, liberals now give nervous hospitality to the varieties of radical self-expression. To be sure, liberal hospitality in the system of administered tolerance tends to transform expression into speech and interest. Obscenity takes the verbal form of pornography so that it can have "redeeming social value," and women's liberation is placated with quotas. But the system of administered tolerance does not work by itself in any context of opinions or with any cast of characters. Contrary to the radical analysis, liberal society requires successful politics in which competent politicians act imaginatively and speak skillfully to produce a ruling majority. Liberals today are not likely to take this requirement for granted, for they sense quite correctly that their leaders have been outgeneraled by Richard Nixon.

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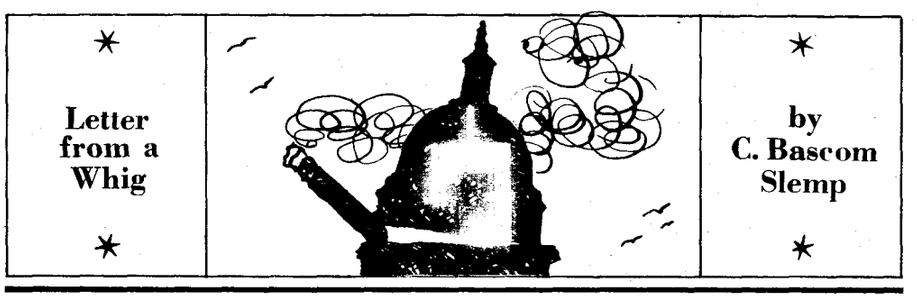
To support able politicians, certain fundamental opinions hostile to the radical doctrine of self-expression are also required. As we have seen, politics is recognized as important only if the connection between reason and self-love is understood as a problem for men. With this understanding, which does not have to be sophisticated in most, a liberal citizen will found his opinions on the separateness of human beings, and accept that there are others outside himself who have rights and to whom he has duties. He will regard the making of a whole community not as a matter of course, but as requiring care in construction and preservation. If he is reflective, he—or she—will wonder why the separateness of human beings is unchangeable and what this implies about the power of human beings.

The radical doctrine of self-expression, implying the facile, though destructive, creation of a common body of human beings, stands in plain opposition to these opinions. That doctrine is drawn from Marx and Nietzsche, Marx supplying its wish to make man whole again and Nietzsche furnishing the partisan bite of willful mastery. I have not attempted to examine the doctrine here, but only to show some of its consequences and its hostility to liberalism. On the way we have seen that liberalism does after all have an understanding of itself as a whole in the work of liberal politics. As for partisan spirit, one may suggest a moderate, retrospective anger at the angry, as it is rather late for a liberal backlash against their radical enemies. □



"One Year of Watergate Is Enough"

(WASHINGTON)—It was that time of year again. President Nixon came before the Congress to deliver his State of the Union message. But as the President outlined his major legislative goals for the coming year the eyes of Congress still focused on Watergate. What appeared to be a warm reception on national television was, in fact, a partisan show. Republicans, cabinet members, and members of the diplomatic corps applauded loudly while most Democrats refrained from even perfunctory applause. Whether "one year . . . is enough" still remains to be seen.

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For those interested in the "vital" statistics of the first session of the Ninety-third Congress, the Commerce Clearing House's Congressional Index reported the following: The House of Representatives was in session for 175 days, for a total of 790 hours. Our senators met on 184 days, or 1,084 hours. If you're interested in knowing how much the senators and congressmen earned, the Commerce Clearing House broke down their $42,500 annual salaries, both per diem and in terms of an hourly salary. Based on the number of days the House and Senate convened, the "daily salary" for congressmen was $240; for senators it was $230. The hourly rate for senators would be $46 and for congressmen $53.

During the first session of the Ninety-third Congress 17,528 bills were introduced, at an approximate cost of $1,500 per introduction. Such a volume of legislation might not seem surprising, considering the "many urgent problems" confronting the nation. On the other hand it does seem a rather expensive escapade to introduce that many pieces of legislation in light of the fact that the Senate passed only 726 bills, and the House passed even less, 717. Of the legislation that passed 244 enactments were signed by President Nixon, and one bill (the war powers measure) became law through Congress' override of a veto.

In its laborious efforts Congress filled 32,325 pages of that award-winning perlustration we have so often talked about—the *Congressional Record*. Given an estimate of 1,500 words per page, the total word output would be 65 million or, as the Commerce Clearing House reports, 233,000 words for each new public act. (And still, with rare exception, no one ever really knows what the legislation passed truly means.)

Of the 32,325 pages in the *Congressional Record* for 1973, 8,325 were devoted to the so-called extraneous commentary. Such extraneous commentary is used for all kinds of pertinent political activities, including the praising of a constituent on the birthday of his dog. At the rate of $209 per page for the *Congressional Record*, Congress' fiscal restraint is less than praiseworthy.

Political Action Conference

The weekend of January 25 saw a congregation of conservatives in Washington, D.C., the likes of which had not been seen for at least a decade. Sponsored by the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom, the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference offered a packed agenda, covering everything from precinct organization, youth campaigns, campaign finance and reform, issue development, campaign media, campaign management, to the role of the party in the campaign. There were also a number of panel sessions, on everything from détente and Red trade to the women's movement and equal rights. Each panel was made up of "Who's who in American Conservatism," the notable exception being the absence of our own distinguished editor and domestic beer advisor RET. The evenings were highlighted with banquet speakers like Governor Ronald Reagan and Senator James Buckley (C-R-N.Y.).

By any standard the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference has to be considered a success. But the conference also served to highlight that an unanimity of opinion vis-à-vis the body politic and political strategy for the upcoming elections does not exist, even among conservatives. A showdown vote over whether or not Nixon should resign was avoided during one panel when the M.C., Dan Joy (an aide to Congressman John Ashbrook [R-Ohio]), headed off the vote by calling it "inappropriate." Ashbrook, however, was able to catch the prevailing sentiment well when he quoted John Greenleaf Whittier: "When faith is lost, when honor dies, the man is dead."

Impeachment

The question of impeachment has also reached new heights. The House Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) is currently studying whether or not Nixon ought to be impeached and, in the process, will attempt to determine what constitutes an impeachable offense. The committee was initially prone to vindicative partisan attacks, because of the liberal Democrats who control

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the committee. But Chairman Rodino is an attempt at bipartisan conciliation first appointed John Doar as Chief Counsel (a "Republican" who is registered as an Independent and who has, reportedly, never voted for a Republican in his life). The Republican counsel for the House impeachment inquiry, Albert Jenner, in a "conciliatory" gesture also modified his statement that the President could be held responsible for the actions of his subordinates (even if he did not know about them) and added, only if he (Nixon) specifically authorized them. More recently Rodino has spoken of an expeditious inquiry into the question of impeachment. His Democratic colleagues would (reportedly) like to drag out the inquiry and allow it to climax just before the 1974 congressional elections—in the national interest, of course.

On the issue of impeachment a recent UPI survey indicated that of the 402 congressmen surveyed 55 favor impeachment; 87 do not; 182 are undecided, and 74 declined to comment. The same survey also revealed that 89 favor resignation; 139 do not; 48 are undecided; and 126 declined to comment. Although it is generally the Democrats who support impeachment and the Republicans who do not, the issue is just not that clear cut. Liberals and conservatives can be found on both sides of the fence. Congressman Joe Waggonner's (D-La.) bloc of fifty Southern Democrats, for example, show no signs of unanimity on this question. And many Republicans, including the new Minority Leader John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) are awaiting further developments without being apologists for the Administration.

Many Republicans are concerned that the upcoming election will be turned into a referendum on Nixon's ability to govern, and political analyst Kevin Phillips has given estimates of up to fifty House seat losses for the GOP. "Watergate" is considered the overriding factor, but Republican difficulties are compounded by the fact that sixteen incumbent GOP congressmen have already announced their intent to retire, and more retirements are expected. This compares with only thirteen announced retirements by House Democrats. Political observers, however, will not have to wait until November to test their theories. Six Republican seats, in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and California, are up in special elections and the GOP (under normal circumstances) should hold on to at least four of those seats.

If the special congressional election in Pennsylvania in February is any indication of the voter trend this fall Republicans had better prepare for bad times. Democrat John Murtha defeated Republican Harry Fox by a slim margin of 220 votes. Although it is a Democratic district Nixon won it in 1968 and 1972 and it sent the late Republican John Saylor to Congress for thirteen terms. Similar forebodings shroud the February 19 defeat of the Republican candidate for Vice President Ford's Michigan seat.

Impeachment Continued

Impeachment, of course, still remains an issue on Capitol Hill. Constituent letters calling for impeachment have slackened off, but one Republican congressman (who had indicated at home that he was going to keep an open mind on the issue of impeachment until the House Judiciary Committee has concluded its inquiry) received an angry letter from a constituent complaining that any efforts in support of the President were "divisive" and "damaging" for the country. In fact, as the constituent wrote, the issue was all but settled since a leading Jesuit in his parish had prayed for an "impeached" President for Christmas. Honey, if that don't say it all, I don't know what does!

Nixon's end may, indeed, be near, but as one Washington official recently observed, it is not yet in sight. □

A. Lawrence Chickering

California's Proposition One

On November 6, 1973, California voters had an historic opportunity to call a halt to the indefinite growth of government and to begin rolling back gradually the share of state output controlled by Sacramento. The opportunity was a statewide referendum—Proposition One on the ballot—which sought by constitutional amendment to limit state expenditures to their 1973 level, as a percentage of state personal income, and in the future gradually to reduce that percentage. The proponents' strategy was simple: let the people vote on how much government they want—and they will vote for less than we have now.

But when the verdict was in and the people had spoken their piece, Proposition One went down by a margin of 55 percent to 45 percent. Fortunately, the situation is not as bleak as it might appear. The polls conducted since the election leave doubt about what happened. And many supporters of Proposition One are hopeful it may be resurrected in a more marketable form next November.

The pessimists, on the other hand, wonder how marketable a constitutional expenditure limitation can be in *any* form. For the pessimists (including this observer), the real question concerns the validity of a long-cherished libertarian assumption—that the mass of people are fed up with government and want less of it. After the defeat of Proposition One, there is reason to wonder if the growing encroachments of public power on individual freedom can ever be reduced.

Background

The proponents of Proposition One felt that government had grown too large and that traditional efforts and mechanisms to halt that growth have proved hopeless. Most important, of course, the proponents believed that a majority of the people agreed with them.

A few numbers tell much of the story. In 1930, 15 percent of personal income in the United States went to support government at all levels. In 1950, the figure was 32 percent, and in 1973 it had grown to 44.7 percent in California. (A figure hotly contested, but all parties relied on the figures of Professor C. Lowell Harriss who made clear, however, that in California, where taxes are above the national average, total *revenues*—as opposed to taxes—do approach the 44 percent estimate used by proponents.)

Perhaps a more important statistic: for the last two decades total public revenues in California have been growing at a rate of 10 percent per year, while personal income has been rising only 7.5 percent a year. In the past the difference has been made up by regular tax increases. If the rate of increase continues, it has been estimated that the state budget will grow from 1973's $9.3 billion to $47 billion by 1989. (Opponents also contested the $47 billion figure. They argued that expenditures for many state services—especially education—were leveling off from this record high growth period. The implication was that the legislature would be unable to find new uses for the money.)

In the face of this situation, on September 1, 1972, Governor Reagan assembled a special task force to study the problem and recommend a solution. Advising the task force were people like Milton Friedman, Peter Drucker, Roger Freeman, James Buchanan, and others of equal distinction.

The task force concluded that the problem could not be contained by conventional means. As a practical matter, government spending could not be reduced significantly by eliminating individual bad programs. The system is flawed, they concluded, by a bias in favor of public spending. The system is producing more public goods than are desired by the consuming public. Professor Friedman gave the reason for the bias as follows: "[W]hen you take one program itself, all of the people who have a special interest in that program land in Sacramento like a ton of bricks. It's worth their while to spend a great deal of energy on it. On the other hand, the public interest in having that program is diffused. Each one of us saves a few cents, but for the special interests, those cents accumulate into a great many dollars. As a result, whenever you try to take off one special program at a time, the special interest is suppressed. The great virtue of this proposal [Proposition One] is precisely that it lumps together all of these little programs into one bigger total and thus makes it possible for the public interest—that is,

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your interest and my interest—to be reflected, in the same strength and the same force as the separate special interest."

To redress the bias in favor of public spending, the task force created Proposition One to permit the voters to determine the maximum state tax revenues—or the total amount of public goods to be produced. As Berkeley economist William Niskanen explained it: "The sole objective of the proposed limit is to constrain the authority of state officials to determine the total state tax revenues" (William A. Niskanen. "Let the People Decide," published in *Tax Expenditure Limitation by Constitutional Amendment*, by The Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley, 1973). This was a right the task force sought to guarantee for all time, by writing it into the state constitution.

The amendment was first submitted to the legislature, but anticipating legislative opposition, in March 1973 the governor announced his intention to seek voter approval of the amendment through the initiative process. And by June the required number of signatures (5 percent of the voters) had been collected to place the issue on the November ballot.

The Substance

The main purpose of the amendment, as Professor Niskanen indicated, was to transfer the power to determine total state tax revenues from the Legislature to the voters. Unhappily, that simple objective became buried in a multitude of subsidiary provisions, which made the proposition a monster of complexity.

The expenditure limitation would have frozen state tax revenue to its 1973 percentage of state personal income (estimated to be about 8.3 percent), and would have reduced that percentage by one-tenth of one percent (0.1 percent) each year thereafter. The reductions would have continued until either fiscal year 1989–1990, or until the percentage reached 7 percent, whichever occurred first. At that point, the legislature could by two-thirds vote terminate further reductions in the limitation.

Until that point, changes in the formula could only be made by a majority vote of the people at a statewide election—by the same process by which it was hoped Proposition One would gain its initial approval. Which is to say that the voters could change their minds about the total amount of public goods they wanted.

Although opponents claimed the initiative would require massive cutbacks in state services, revenues were projected even at the reduced rates to maintain all state services at their 1973 levels and provide a substantial surplus besides. (1972-1973 showed an $800 million surplus.) Over the longer term, under Proposition One the state budget could have doubled in ten years and tripled in fifteen. This is an increase from $9.7 billion in 1974 to $27.4 billion in 1990.

So much for the basic provisions. Attached to them were elaborate safeguards to take care of emergencies, to guarantee that accumulating surpluses would be returned to the taxpayers by tax refunds, and safeguards that the state would not pass on to local units the cost of state-mandated programs.

The complexity of the initiative is clear from its additional provisions, which included:

—A requirement that any changes in the state tax structure required a two-thirds vote of the legislature (instead of the present requirement of a simple majority);
—Rules regulating legislature approval of local government taxes (two-thirds required for local income taxes, simple majority for local sales taxes);
—A property tax-rate limitation for cities, counties, and special districts, with changes permitted only by a majority vote of the people;
—A one-time credit of 20 percent on 1973 state personal income taxes, to take care of the $829 million surplus expected in 1972–1973; and
—Beginning in 1974, an across-the-board cut of 7½ percent in state personal income taxes, with low income families (incomes less than $8,000) exempted from tax altogether.

The Opposition

If you felt yourself becoming dizzy under the weight of detail, so did many California voters who like to consider themselves politically well-informed. Unfortunately, the initiative's complexity made impossible a clear public discussion of the essential issues. The opposition used the complexity brilliantly, and by election day the confusion was almost total. The problem was aggravated during the last week of the campaign, when the governor jokingly told a reporter that people shouldn't try to understand the proposition, because he didn't understand it either. The important thing, he said, was for them to vote for it. His remark became the subject of a massive statewide advertising campaign by the opposition in the final days.

It was not an issue on which levity was permitted. In fact, the opposition responded to the proposal—there is no delicate way to put it—hysterically. Especially for those on the receiving end of state revenues, the news that the gravy train might not stop here anymore was not received lightly by those who had ridden it for years.

Throughout the state opponents predicted disaster and general chaos if the initiative passed. Leading the opposition were Assembly Speaker and gubernatorial candidate Bob Moretti, and the long-time GOP public relations firm of Whittaker and Baxter.

Most effective in opposition was the state's very partisan "nonpartisan" legislative analyst, A. Alan Post. Post is supposed to be a "watchdog" of state government spending, but is in fact employed by the Democratic legislature to agitate for bigger and bigger state budgets. In recent years, he has regularly predicted fiscal chaos if Reagan budgets were not increased. (The state constitution does not permit deficit spending.) But just as regularly, the state has somehow managed to get by with expenditure levels set by the governor—and often with substantial increases for various state services. In February 1971, Post labeled the governor's $6.7 billion budget for 1971–1972 "the property tax increase of 1971." But after the governor's 1971 welfare reform, 42 out of California's 58 counties were able to reduce their property tax rates.

Post is fortunate that where ideology is concerned, reputation bears no relation to performance. Thus, his embarrassing performance over the past couple of years did not in the least inhibit his becoming the central figure in the opposition against Proposition One.

1) The central opposition claim was that if the initiative was passed, in the words of Post's official analysis, "substantial reductions in state expenditures will be required each year." Post's figure for 1974-1975, the first full year under the initiative, was a $620 million reduction in state services. And that figure found its way, via the Legislative Analyst's office, onto the November ballot. The impression thus was given that Proposition One would have forced a reduction in state services from their 1973–1974 level by $620 million.

Pretty tricky, that. $620 million *was* a reasonable estimate of the reduction in state revenues not from present levels, but from their levels ***without*** the initiative. It is clear from Post's own figures that revenues permitted under Proposition One for 1974-1975 would still have been $500 million greater than 1973–1974 revenues. Far from reducing state spending, Proposition One would merely have reduced allowable expansion of state spending from $1.1 billion to $500 million.

But that distinction somehow never was made clear. The impression persisted that there would be massive reductions in state services, that there would be huge shifts from the state to the cities and counties—which would have to be financed out of greatly increased property taxes.

2) The issue of whether Proposition One was a tax reduction (as the governor claimed) or a tax shift (as opponents claimed) was a confusion the opposition used to great advantage. A Field Poll conducted just before the election revealed that although a majority were going to vote "no," 69 percent of them opposed Proposition One because they thought it would increase their taxes.

The tax shift argument was phony not only because permitted revenues under the initiative would not reduce state services. A tax shift was also prevented by other specific provisions in the proposal guarding against the shift. Somehow, the message never got across.

3) The tax shift argument became part of another highly political series of arguments about income redistribution. A major effect of the initiative, the Assembly Office of Research argued, would be to "shift the costs of government from upper to lower income groups." The assumption was that funding would be transferred from the income tax to the sales tax, and therefore from the rich to the poor.

The argument failed to point out that California's sales tax is very progressive, exempting both food and housing. But more important, the tax reductions mandated by Proposition One were still to be determined entirely ***by the legislature***. Under the initiative, it was estimated that in ten years, the state income tax could have been reduced by 60 percent, or the sales tax could have been reduced by two cents—or some combination of the two. The decision was for the legislature to make.

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4) Opponents argued that the initiative would create a "straight jacket" for taxation and spending, and eliminate flexibility for responding to changing conditions. This argument was most elegantly expressed by a stream of economists brought in to counter the authority of the governor's task force advisors. John Kenneth Galbraith uttered the common sentiment of Professors Samuelson, Okun, and Heller as follows: "I would be opposed to any effort to freeze the level of taxation over future years. This implies that later generations will be less wise in making the decision as between the public and private sectors of the economy than the present one."

The argument simply missed the point. Returning to Professor Niskanen's statement, the major objective of Proposition One was "to transfer *one* power from state officials to the voters—the power to determine the maximum state tax revenues." Proposition One would have established a maximum state tax (about 8.3 percent of state personal income in 1974–1975, and declining 0.1 percent in each of the years after until the percentage reached 7 percent or until fiscal year 1989–1990, whichever occurred first). Within the maximum, there was provision for short-term adjustments. But most important, at any time, by the same procedure as that governing Proposition One, the voters could increase or decrease the maximum.

The silliest argument in opposition came from Berkeley economist George Break, who found Proposition One dangerously "undemocratic." In fairness to Professor Break, I will refrain from commenting on his argument that there is something subversive to democracy in taking a power from the legislature and giving it to the people.

The Post-Mortem

A week or two before the election, I was flying from Los Angeles to San Francisco, and I happened to read in the *PSA Magazine* an exchange between the governor and Speaker Moretti on Proposition One. From Moretti's critique of the initiative, one would have to conclude either that he does not read, or that he was engaging, as the governor charged, in a campaign of "falsehood and distortion."

It would be a mistake, I think, to assume the very able Moretti does not read. Nonetheless, anyone reading only the two *PSA* statements would have come away hopelessly confused. On so important an issue, if you are confused, you vote no. Which many voters undoubtedly did. Others, as already stated, voted against the initiative because they thought it would increase their property taxes.

It is hard to say which side outspent which. Normal campaign practice calls for accusations of profligate spending by the opposition, in contrast to your own threadbare operation. Ordinarily, therefore, one would expect a massive underreporting of expenses by both sides. In the fall campaign over Proposition One, reported expenses were about $1.3 million for each side. But in at least four separate civil lawsuits, the Proposition proponents are claiming that the opponents used hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars to finance the opposition to an issue placed on the ballot by taxpayers' signatures. Proponents accused Speaker Moretti of running the opposition campaign out of the speaker's office. Thus, they claimed that twenty-eight full-time staff people, in addition to the thirty-man staff of the Assembly Office of Research, in effect, were employed by California taxpayers to campaign against the initiative. Opponents are also accused of using the state telephone lease line and the public franking privilege to mail over a million pieces of mail, to urge people to vote against Proposition One. Furthermore, having declared the issue inappropriate for Assembly action in the spring, the speaker then proceeded during the campaign to hold a series of hearings all over the state and to hear mostly hostile testimony against the initiative. One observer suggested that the hearings could not significantly differ from a similar series of statewide public hearings which will be held next fall to consider the qualifications of Speaker Moretti as a gubernatorial candidate.

Whatever the case, the issue remains very much alive. Several bills are being prepared in the legislature to place a similar, but far simpler measure on the ballot next November. If the Democratic legislature does not go along, as seems likely, another campaign for signatures in the spring will likely return the issue to the voting booth. Interest is also reportedly growing around the country, and similar measures are being considered in about a dozen other states. The problems with the concept, however, may be more complicated than is generally supposed.

God Moves to Washington

In 1964, a major strategy of the Goldwater campaign was based on the hope that a substantial, but untapped number of voters had effectively withdrawn from the political process because they could see no real difference between the two major political parties. It was this "hidden vote" that would turn the tide on election day in Goldwater's favor. The 1964 election results suggest that if there was ever a hidden vote, it remained well hidden.

The same hope reappeared during the campaign for Proposition One. One friend, high in Republican circles, several days before the election predicted that many people, unwilling publicly to support the initiative, nevertheless in the privacy of the voting booth would vote for it. The hope was, in the moment of truth, that in our hearts we would know it was right. Once again, the hidden vote never materialized.

Each time, the assumption was that most people were fed up with government and wanted less of it. After all, what about all those school bond issues that regularly get buried in what we have been taught to think of as "the taxpayer's revolt?"

The question in response is too obvious to avoid: if people really want less government, why don't they elect to office people who will carry out their will? Why do they continue party registrations of nearly two Democrats for every one Republican? Why are there not more Ronald Reagans in statehouses across the country, working to reduce the size of government? I know, I know. There are historical reasons. And problems of circumstance. And a thousand complicating factors.

There are *always* good explanations, and they all defy the most obvious one: that in the final analysis, the majority—perhaps the vast majority—of the American people are generally satisfied with the amount of government they are getting and paying for. And this is true notwithstanding the noises they may seem to make to the contrary—and however often, on small issues, they may give us reason to hope.

Proposition One was defeated by a margin of 55 to 45 percent—a margin not significantly different from the balance of Democrats to Republicans in Congress over the past twenty years. A coincidence? I do not think so.

The usual analysis is that the people like the programs, but don't want to pay for them. But I am not convinced.

The problem is not, I suspect, that people think government can do things better and more efficiently than the private sector can do them. After all, voters always have the Post Office and the public school system to set them right. Their unhappiness with certain specific government programs is intense, and so they regularly vote down specific appropriations for certain specific uses (e.g., school bonds). But there is a question whether performance alone accounts for the unhappiness.

Pulling against this opposition to public spending is the general insecurity and anxiety that we have come to think of under the general term "alienation." The problem is: if God is dead, what to do?

For most people, God is not dead; He *can't* be dead. He has merely moved to Washington.

As the old authorities and communities lose their ability to provide the personal structure people need, fear of uncertainty and of the future can only grow. The structure people can no longer find in family, church, and local community must be found somewhere, and for increasing numbers of people, that somewhere is government. (The best book I know on this subject is Robert Nisbet's *The Quest for Community*, 1953. Irving Kristol explored certain aspects of the problem more recently in his "Capitalism, Socialism and Nihilism," The *Public Interest*, Spring, 1973.)

If people are now asking of government what they got in the past from religion, it is small wonder that they are fed up with government and consider it unresponsive: government *must* seem unresponsive when people ask from it things it cannot give. The hope that government can and should dispense spiritual succor may explain much dissatisfaction with certain specific public programs.

The general uncertaintly and insecurity can be relieved only by the general sense that the government will be there to take care of any and all contingencies. Thus, voters may resist specific public programs, whose effects are definite, specific, and present, but acquiesce both in the general power of government to take care of things, and in specific programs (like Social Security) that will provide security and reduce uncertainty in the future. This means, ultimately, they will acquiesce generally in the right of government to deploy their (our) resources, and to tax—and will loathe taking any action that seems to limit government's ability to act in this general way.

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That, I believe, was the real story underlying the defeat of Proposition One—as it has been of much recent political history. The problem, as certain social criics have warned us since the French Revolution, is a problem of lost authority. The problem for those concerned about the growth of government is how to develop a form of authority to recapture the consent that is vital to strong authority, but that the traditional communities and authorities have substantially lost.

It is not an easy problem. But until we discover new legitimate sources of values and structure, we cannot be surprised if people demand more and more government, even as they continue to reject various bond issues and to vilify for incompetence and unresponsiveness the people they continue to elect. □

Maurice Friedberg

Solzhenitsyn and the Soviet Dissenters

WE MAY, EVERY SO often, find ourselves eyeball to eyeball with the Soviet military machine, a situation most recently witnessed in the Middle East, though not limited to that area; yet the Administration in Washington as well as its most persistent moralizing critic Senator Fulbright both solemnly assure us that the Cold War is dead and we had better cultivate the fragrant flower of ***détente***. Similarly, we are assured by an incongruous coalition of industrial tycoons lusting after huge business ventures in the Soviet Union (to be financed, of course, with credits underwritten by American taxpayers) and assorted liberal Polyannas, that de-Stalinization which was set in motion nearly twenty years ago continues to make progress, and that the Soviet Union, while perhaps not yet a perfect democratic society, can at least be counted on to act rationally and with moderation. The fact remains, however, that evidence for the latter assertion is even flimsier than for the first and consists, by and large, of Soviet assurances complemented with Western wishful thinking.

The most recent unpleasant reminder of this fact, one viewed with fury in Moscow and with not a little annoyance in many Western capitals, is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's ***The Gulag Archipelago***, a 600 page compilation of data on the Soviet system of police terror and network of concentration camps. The famous novelist's account is carried to 1956, but a postscript, and Solzhenitsyn's other pronouncements, suggest that it may well be followed by a sequel. Still, even the account already published is refutation enough of the sham of de-Stalinization. It informs us, for instance, that the number of Stalin's murderous accomplices actually brought to trial for their crimes did not exceed two dozen, and while the overall number of inmates in prison camps has drastically declined, the Soviet system of camps and the conditions in them have not changed very much.

Indeed, there is no reason to be very surprised by this fact. Most of the present Soviet leaders are themselves products of the Stalinist system, and practically all aged fifty and above now occupying top posts were the dictator's faithful lieutenants. The extent of the Soviet Union's much-heralded de-Stalinization is thus about the same as Germany's de-Nazification would have been, had Hitler's death been followed by some perfunctory disavowals of a few of his policies: a closing of the crematoria, a reduction of the size of slave labor camps, and a trial of twenty SS-men. As Yevgeni Yevtushenko warned a few years ago, while still something of a nonconformist Soviet poet, Stalin's heirs can be found throughout Russia. Recently they have become less reticent about identifying themselves as such, and the label of Stalinism is now once again regarded by many Soviet Communists as a badge of honor.

As a Nobel Prize winning author, Solzhenitsyn is, at least for the time being, protected from reprisals by his international reputation, although it should be emphasized that he has also antagonized a number of influential Westerners. Thus, for instance, he excoriated the Nobel Committee and the Swedish government for cowardly buckling under to Soviet pressures and refusing to present to him the prize in Moscow, either in his private apartment or in the Swedish Embassy. On other occasions, Solzhenitsyn made acid comments about those Western liberals who are willing to concede imperfections in the observance of human rights in the Soviet Union, but only on the condition that this be accompanied by a condemnation of "Fascist regimes" in Greece, Portugal, and South Africa.

Still, Solzhenitsyn's ***The Gulag Archipelago*** deals primarily with the terror of the Stalin era and contains little information that was totally unknown before, and is thus somewhat vulnerable to charges of being dated. On the other hand, such charges may be countered with the observation that Solzhenitsyn's book only continues a pattern in the fortunes of accounts of Soviet concentration camps published in the West over the last half century. Nearly all contained some information that was new, and also much data that was readily available earlier, but was simply not believed. Thus, over the years some of Western Europe's left-wing intellectuals systematically denounced such information as anti-Soviet slander, even when its authenticity was beyond doubt. Indeed, as a result of such conditioning there were people in the West who in 1956 were initially skeptical about the reliability of some of Khrushchev's revelations (none of them entirely new either) regarding Stalin's terror that were contained in his famous "secret speech" at the Twentieth Party Congress.

In many ways, Solzhenitsyn's ***The Gulag Archipelago***, revealing as it is, may be less significant as commentary on present conditions in the Soviet Union than two other recent books, Andrei Sinyavsky's *A Voice from the Choir* and Anatoli Marchenko's *My Testimony*. Both describe present-day Soviet concentration camps, not Stalinist ones. As a matter of fact, the authors of both books were in their teens at the time of Stalin's death. One of them, Marchenko, an ordinary worker, is still in the Soviet Union where he leads a precarious existence in and out of prisons. The other, Sinyavsky, a brilliant writer and literary theoretician, recently arrived in Paris. (His books, published in the West under the pseudonym Abram Tertz, were once firmly disowned by the Soviet authorities as concoctions produced by embittered anti-Soviet émigrés—until their author was identified in 1965 and sentenced to prison.)

Sinyavsky's unexpected arrival was not an isolated case. In the last two years or so, parallel with the slow but steady stream of Soviet Jews leaving for Israel (a limited emigration allowed for reasons of domestic policy, and also partly to appease critics abroad, although it should be emphasized that the *vast* majority of applicants are *not* allowed to leave), there has also been a second group of emigrants, very small in numbers, and therefore little noticed. Because some of the men and women in that group were Jewish or of partly Jewish origin, they were often ostensibly allowed to leave as Jews. Occasionally, the "Jews" were good Orthodox Christians and, their passports notwithstanding, had no intention of going to Israel. They were all, however, in one way or another linked to the various unorganized groupings known in the West as Soviet Dissenters, most frequently to the fragment known as the Democratic Movement. Unlike most of the other circles of Soviet dissidents, the Democratic Movement was never identified with specific ethnic or religious groups, nor were its aims linked with a particular political program. As suggested by its name, its aims were very modest. By and large these were limited to demands that the Soviet Union observe those democratic rights to which it is committed in theory, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which the Soviet Union is a signatory, and the country's own Constitution which guarantees all Soviet citizens freedom of speech, assembly, and conscience.

Approximately two years ago the Soviet authorities finally succeeded in suppressing that group's illegal journal, the ***Chronicle of Current Events***, a remarkable typewritten publication that had for a period of nearly four years dispassionately and without editorial comment recorded

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violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. (A brilliantly edited compilation of materials from the *Chronicle* is Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored Russia*, McGraw-Hill, 1972.) Most dissenters associated with the *Chronicle of Current Events*, notably Pyotr Yakir and Victor Krasin, ended up in prisons or in prison-psychiatric hospitals (by an Orwellian twist of reasoning Soviet authorities regard political dissenters as criminally insane, and it is therefore fit and proper that they should be committed to such institutions). A small number, however, were allowed to go abroad; moreover, some were actually told to choose between emigration and prison.

In several cases, such as those of Professor Zhores Medvedeev or of the lawyer Valeri Chalidze, dissenters were generously allowed to accept invitations to lecture at Western universities (liberalism and de-Stalinization!), only to have their Soviet passports confiscated abroad, thus preventing their return to Russia. The reason for such "dumping" of Soviet dissenters in the West is quite simple. Once abroad, they are quickly reduced to political impotence and thus rendered harmless to the Soviet regime. The procedure is made even more attractive to the Soviet regime because it enhances its reputation for humaneness—after all, the dissenters were not shot. This selective deportation results in small colonies of former Soviet dissenters who may now be found in Rome, London, and New York, desperately looking for some sort of permanent residence and employment. Most Western organizations that help refugees (not to speak of government bodies) prefer to keep away from these displaced persons. Obviously, excessive solicitude for them would not be viewed kindly by the Soviet authorities. It might even hurt the spirit of ***détente***.

There is no denying the fact that at this time, after a wave of arrests, Soviet dissenters are in a state of disarray. Still, the seeds of discontent from which the various movements sprang up remain intact—nearly nothing was done by the Soviet regime to placate even the most innocent demands—and one may therefore expect that dissenters will make themselves heard again before long.

There are the several particularly disadvantaged religious groups, such as the Baptists (one such Baptist was portrayed as an inmate of a Soviet labor camp in Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*), or the Lithuanian Catholics (whose illegal publication contains long lists of victims of harassment by a government that is simultaneously mending its fences with the Vatican), or the Jehovah's Witnesses, whose sect is simply outside the pale of Soviet law and in which mere membership is a criminal offense. There are the Jews whose ties to Israel have, if anything, grown stronger now that tens of thousands of Soviet Jews have settled there. There are the Ukrainian nationalists whose ambitions range from linguistic autonomy to political independence; there are Crimean Tatars, deported by Stalin from their native lands and refused permission to return by the same Soviet government that sheds crocodile tears over the fate of Moslem refugees elsewhere. And these are only those groups whose grievances were voiced persistently and openly in recent years notwithstanding the fear of reprisals. Perhaps, as a result of a wave of ruthless repressions in a re-Stalinized Russia these grievances will now for the time being disappear from public view. There is no doubt, however, that ultimately they will come again to the surface. □

Since Mr. Friedberg wrote this article the condition of at least one of the Russian dissenters has changed dramatically. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was arrested in his wife's apartment on the afternoon of February 14 and forcibly flown to West Germany. Arriving in Germany with little more than the clothes on his back, the Nobel Prize author stayed at the home of the German author, Mr. Heinrich Böll, before flying to Zurich where he is now temporarily living with his lawyer, Mr. Fritz Heeb, while looking for more permanent residence in Norway.

His future plans are uncertain and will remain so until he has secured the release of his family and—almost as importantly—of his research files, which he must have to continue work on his historical novel, the first installment of which, August 1914, *has already appeared in the West. In the past Mr. Solzhenitsyn wrote off exile as "spiritual castration." Now that he has been forcibly deported from his native land Mr. Solzhenitsyn is trying to make the best of a bad situation. In an interview on February 18 he asserted that "even old trees . . . are transplanted, and they take root in a new place." He spoke of wanting to acquire "calm quarters with some land, convenient for work and for health." Defiantly he spoke of his plans to write about Russia and to continue his personal mission to bring the Russian people a regime of "justice and law." He looms increasingly as the hope of all freedom-loving men throughout the world.*

—Ed.

Timothy J. Wheeler

The Energy Crisis Is Not a Crisis

IN THE YEAR 301 A.D., the emperor Diocletian called a press conference. "Unprincipled greed,"[1] he said, had caused food prices to go up eightfold recently, and as Emperor of all the people, it was his duty to bring prices and wages into line. He had therefore issued a total edict that "commanded cheapness" in many hundreds of commodities and put ceilings on wages in almost every occupation, with the death penalty for offenders.

Did comprehensive wage-price controls, enforced with the death penalty, stop inflation? Not exactly. Thirteen years later the historian Lactantius reported the results of Diocletian's edict: "After the many oppressions[2] which he had put in practice had brought a general dearth upon the empire, he then set himself to regulate the prices of all vendible things. There was much blood shed upon very slight and trifling accounts; and the people brought provisions no more to markets, since they could not get a reasonable price for them; and this increased the dearth so much that at last, after many had died by it, the law itself was laid aside." In a word, Rome starved.

In the year 1971 A.D., eleven days after promising that he would never impose wage-price controls,[3] the emperor Richard called a press conference to announce that he had issued an edict imposing controls on most prices and wages.[4]

Did general wage and price controls, enforced by the Internal Revenue Service,[5] stop inflation? Not exactly. Two years later the historian Timothy observed that Richard's edict had brought a general dearth upon the empire. Among the goods reported in short supply after the imposition of controls were: wheat, beef, corn, soybeans, fish, pork, milk, cheese, bacon, chickens, turkeys, salmon, raisins, potatoes, dried fruit, mayonnaise, catsup, peaches, margarine, canned vegetables, canned meats, asparagus, artichokes, lobster, frozen berries, green beans, peas, apricots, Spam, cooking oil, baked beans, potato chips, onions, quail eggs, truffles, prawns, turtle meat, pitted cherries, capers, juniper berries, King Crab, frogs, earthworms, lumber, paper, steel, horses, mules, copper, pet food, business forms, cow gallstones, cement, aluminum, machine tools, heavy machinery, plastics, detergents, fertilizer, hay, drill pipe, coal, hydroelectric power, and a large number of parts, supplies, and materials for business and industry.[6] And, of course, petroleum—the energy crisis. . . . ***and the people brought provisions no more to market since they could not get a reasonable price for them.***

*

There seem to be a great number of people who don't know what is causing the energy crisis. I am not one of them, and if you are, you did not read our little history lesson with your thinking-cap on.

Shortages are a novelty in this land of plenty. Understandably, many people blame the oil companies, or greedy capitalists, or them damn Arabs for the energy crisis. Possibly so, if we were only short of oil. But we need another sort of explanation for shortages of many different goods at once. Them Arabs can stop selling oil to the

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United States, but they can't cause shortages of beef or coal or quail eggs.

A shortage means: not enough supply to meet demand. When there is one shortage, the problem is not enough supply (dried up wells or Arabs). When there are many shortages, the problem in common is too much demand (a dollar blizzard). In other words, apart from the Arab oil embargo,[7] the oil shortage has little or nothing to do with the oil industry,[8] and everything to do with the surplus of dollars. We may conclude without doubt that the energy crisis originated in the money factories of Washington, D.C. The principal villain is inflation.

Inflation alone, however, does not cause shortages, at least not right away.[9] It robs widows and orphans, damages contracts, invites mismanagement, undermines morality (yes, it does), encourages shoddy merchandise, raises hell with the economy, causes depressions, and makes politicians wealthy, but that is another story.

What we need to know here is that inflation is an increase (an inflating) in the money supply—legal counterfeiting. The more money (or anything) there is in circulation, the less it is worth. So, as the government money factories keep producing more money,[10] the price of the dollar goes down and down, meaning that the dollar price of beef and coal and everything else goes up and up. When prices rise, tempers rise. As things get worse, the government promises to "fight inflation,"[11] and the stage is set for the emperor to call his press conference.

Shortages never occur in the free market because prices can (and do) fluctuate to reflect changes in the supply and demand. When there is a greater demand for widgets, either 1) widget makers will make more widgets to satisfy the demand, or 2) the price of widgets will rise and demand will fall until supply and demand are again in balance and trading resumes. In either case, supply is sufficient to meet demand *at the market price* and there is no shortage.[12] You could not cause a shortage even if Uncle Howard left you enough money to buy up 99 percent of the world's widgets or gold or quail eggs.[13]

Shortages occur only when prices are fixed at a level below what the market says they should be. Naturally, more buyers want to buy at these bargain prices, but fewer sellers are willing to sell. There is not enough supply to meet demand at the government-fixed price, and that is what we call a shortage.

Competition eliminates the possibility of fixing prices in the open market—regardless of what you may have heard about monopolists, profiteers, price collusions, or sharpies who corner the widget market. To fix prices, you have to destroy the market—overrule the continuous bargaining by millions of traders that keeps the goods moving by adjusting prices. It takes power and a lot of it to thwart these millions of traders and enforce fixed prices.[14] The only force strong enough to do it is the law—police power. Government and only government has the power to fix prices and cause shortages.

Now we have pinned down the two principal causes of the energy crisis: government counterfeiting (inflation) and government price fixing. The first debases the currency and causes commodity prices to rise; the second foolishly attempts to suppress these price rises by force, and only succeeds in keeping goods off the market. Massive government regulation of oil and related industries makes matters a lot worse, but that need not be discussed here.[15]

To sum up: there is an energy crisis, but it is strictly artificial and man-made. It is caused by Emperor Richard's policies. It could be cured overnight by reversing those policies and letting the market function.

The emperor Richard knows all this. He knows he caused the oil shortage, and he knows he could end it tomorrow. Yet he does not do so. He believes his policies should remain in effect even if it causes the public inconvenience and hardship. The energy crisis, you see, is not a crisis at all. It is official U.S. government policy.

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Why? Why does the government persist in policies it knows to be harmful to the public? Why is it an article of faith among politicians of both parties to keep oil prices fixed at artificially low levels, even though it causes shortages? These can be vexing questions if you trust politicians and believe the government is benevolent.

Such questions are less troublesome if you assume, realistically, that the principal business of the government is looking after the government, i.e., the care and feeding of politicians. Its policies are therefore shaped not by what is good for the public, but by what is necessary to stay in power. Call this cynicism if you want to, but it also

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1. Politicians always blame the greedy and the profiteers when the public refuses to accept debauched currency at its face value; and as you can see, they have been doing it for millennia. Actually, the statement can be taken at face value referring to the greed of Diocletian and his predecessors who had, over two centuries, debased the Roman denarius from nearly pure silver to 99.98 percent base metal—in effect, the denarius was inflated to 1/4700 its former value. Here is what the Second Continental Congress had to say in November 1776, five months after it began issuing worthless paper "Continentals" to finance the Revolutionary War: ". . . any person who shall hereafter be so lost to all virtue and regard for his country as to refuse to receive said bills in payment, or obstruct and discourage the currency or circulation thereof . . . shall be deemed . . . an enemy of his country." **2.** Lactantius is referring to the welfare state, reckless inflation, and crushing taxes. Nowadays, we call these "progress," not "oppressions." **3.** When the Administration later promised there would be no gasoline rationing, the nation's supply of gas cans sold out in a few days. **4.** "The lesson that government price fixing doesn't work is never learned"—Richard M. Nixon, 1956. **5.** A police agency. **6.** I am not making this up. In the interests of even-handed justice, I can also report that those goods reported in plentiful supply over the same period were: *sunflower seeds, paper money, taxes, and political rhetoric.* **7.** Shutting off, temporarily, between 5 and 10 percent of our usual supply (published figures vary)—not enough to cause serious dislocations. **8.** If further evidence is needed, available U.S. oil supplies are, in the middle of the crisis, at or near record highs. **9.** Over the long term, inflation seriously damages productive capacity by encouraging misinvestment. This restricts supply, and will cause shortages if price controls are in effect, or even higher prices if there are no controls. Either way it can prompt politicians to declare an emergency and impose controls on nonpoliticians. **10.** Unfortunately, nobody throws used money out with the rest of the garbage. The supply keeps growing, and its value sinks accordingly. **11.** A classic case of the government's unfailing preference to fight an evil instead of curing it. In this case, the government solemnly pledges to "fight" inflation when all it need do is *stop inflating.* Don't bother telling your representatives to stop inflating. They would sooner dishonor their mothers. **12.** The market is nonstop bargaining by buyers and sellers, both seeking the best price they can get. These traders, the experts in supply (what's for sale) and demand (what people will pay money for), will find the right *(mutually agreeable to both) price to keep the goods moving. Their livelihood* depends on it. So long as the traders can strike a bargain at whatever price they choose, goods will be readily exchanged and no shortage will develop. The goods stop moving and shortages (or surpluses) commence when the price is fixed by law at a point where either buyer or seller refuses to trade. **13.** When you try to cause a shortage by cornering the widget market, you will be bidding against all other widget buyers in the world. The higher you raise your bid, the more the other buyers will drop out of the bidding and order Ajax Patented Widget Substitutes, or go into dry goods. Finally you bid the price of widgets up to $17,000 a dozen. Every garage and attic in the world is ransacked for old widgets to sell to you. You succeed in buying every widget except those owned by that eccentric hobbyist in Vermont and the fine Smithsonian collection. Is there a shortage of widgets? At $17,000 a dozen? Don't be silly. **14.** Politicians' efforts to thwart traders are never entirely successful. There are always some who would rather trade than obey the law. This is called, notably by politicians, a black market; it works just like a free market, except that black market traders get much higher profit margins and prices to cover the risk of being fined or jailed. This situation is tailor-made for the entrepreneurs of the Mob, who live outside the law anyway. Thus criminals follow the government and its economic interventions the way grackles follow a horse, pecking at the manure. **15.** Government regulation tends to cause industrial senility, hamper production, and create privilege and monopoly; and in all cases it causes prices to rise. Somebody has to pay for everything the regulators order, and it turns out to be you and I. I started to do a list of the government's regulatory attentions to the petroleum industry: all the way from the Santa Barbara channel and the North Slope oilfields to your empty gas tank. After the list got to be three pages long, I was too ill to continue, and resolved never to make it public. All this regulatory meddling was justified in the first place by the argument that it would *prevent* economic crises. You can see how well it prevented the energy crisis. **16.** The learned say that present oil shortages translate into gasoline prices of no more than 55-70 cents per gallon. The poor, like the rest of us, could conserve and buy less. It seems absurd to argue that they could not afford gasoline at such prices, especially if they can afford an automobile. I know from experience that the argument is false. Stationed in Europe a dozen years ago, I could buy gasoline from the Army, tax free, for 12 cents a gallon, but the Europeans had to pay 70–90 cents a gallon; it was sold by the litre. The Europeans were far worse off economically than American poor are today, but they managed very well despite an "unaffordable" price of gasoline. They adjusted to the circumstances with small cars, motorcycles, bicycles, and hitchhiking. **17.** Theft losses are deductible on federal income taxes. It would be interesting to deduct inflation as a test case. **18.** The year honest Abe Lincoln invented greenbacks. The Supreme Court legalized them seventeen years later, notwithstanding that the framers of the Constitution had specifically denied to both federal and state governments the power to print paper money. The paper money in your pocket is still not constitutional. Come to think of it, it's not even money.

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helps to observe that the government is in business to *fight* miseries, not to *cure* them. If it cured our miseries, it would be out of a job. Since the job pays more than $450,000,000,000 a year (federal, state, and local)—with superb prospects for advancement—few of our miseries are likely to be cured by politicians. Indeed, politicians welcome and occasionally contrive new miseries for the public, since they can increase their wealth, prestige, and power by promising to "fight" this new evil. Emperor Richard's "fight" against inflation seems to be along these lines.

In my opinion, the government persists in its "energy crisis" policies because it is politically expedient. Gasoline and fuel oil prices affect almost everybody. Low prices are more popular than high prices. Therefore, the politicians promise to fight for low prices. They argue that lifting price controls would send gasoline prices out of reach of the poor—and after all, the poor are just as entitled to buy gasoline as the rich.[16] They promise to develop new sources of oil. And if the shortage persists, they still promise that everyone will get his "fair share" by—"reluctantly" of course—imposing gasoline rationing. Every one of the promises will be fulfilled with your money, and they will all help keep the energy crisis going and politicians employed.

Here is a sample of the prevailing political rhetoric: (Washington–AP)— "Proposals to lift price controls from natural gas could cost consumers an extra $18 billion annually in increased fuel costs, Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.) said yesterday. He said that natural gas deregulation 'amounts to nothing less than a multibillion-dollar profit grab by giant oil companies. . . ."

Representative Aspin is really pitchin' it. The fact is, he and his colleagues have already grabbed the $18 billion, and a lot more, with inflation. Every new dollar the federal government creates is a dollar stolen out of the economy. You and I have to cover these losses by paying higher consumer prices.[17]

Deregulating, freeing the market from the politicians' stranglehold, would make gasoline, fuel oil, and natural gas available again in plentiful supply. You would be able to buy "your share"—all you want and can afford. You would indeed have to pay more for it: not because the giant oil companies are ripping you off, but because the government is. The value of the dollar has been falling since 1862.[18]

But lifting wage-price controls would also mean less power and wealth for politicians, and they won't permit it. Politicians have been playing these games for millennia as we have seen, and they have invented an awful lot of ways to perpetuate and cover up the wholesale larceny that is the standard of excellence in their profession. The race has been on ever since King Glogg discovered he could take your money—without the risk of getting clubbed—by calling it taxation. Since that sorry day, politicians have invented indirect taxes (taxes hidden in the price of goods), progressive taxes, inflation-counterfeiting (a tax on capital), tax withholding (so you won't notice), and other refinements, They have also invented national emergencies, wars, austerity programs, rationing, and such to force you to lower your standard of living to what it should be after they've cleaned you out. No sacrifice you can make is too great to keep this noble enterprise afloat. So turn down your thermostat, drive at 55 mph, stop visiting grandma on Sundays, and stop bitching about it.

The price of a commodity, not bureaucrats, should tell you how to use it. If the price is low, you use it freely. If it is high, you have to conserve. By lifting controls and letting the dollar sink, the government would automatically promote the conservation of scarce energy. In the face of high petroleum prices, people would turn down their thermostats, drive slower, form car pools, and so on without being told by Washington, D.C. By retaining controls, the government is actually encouraging fuel wastage. And the next step, gasoline rationing, is much more wasteful.

You may as well get used to it all. So long as inflation and wage-price controls remain the operative federal policy, there will be general shortages, including of course the "energy crisis." How long this will go on, I don't know. But look what happened to Diocletian's Rome.

Jacqueline Kasun

Four Myths of Poverty and Unemployment

THERE WASN'T MUCH fanfare when the United States' gross output passed the one trillion dollar mark. After all it's been the largest in the world, both on a total and on a per capita basis, ever since the GNP measurement was invented. This position of world leadership in productivity and affluence is taken for granted by Americans as well as by the rest of the world. Perhaps not so well known is the fact that this gigantic income is also one of the world's most evenly distributed. The gap between rich and poor is less wide here than in many, perhaps most, other countries; with median family income at $11,000 most Americans belong to a highly prosperous middle class. Measured by an absolute standard, the proportion and numbers in poverty have declined dramatically over the decades. And the average welfare family in New York or Los Angeles enjoys a level of affluence that is the envy of millions around the world.

Also, although inflation is a divisive political issue, prices have risen less in the United States than in most other countries in recent decades. Even the environmental concerns which are currently, and probably belatedly, so intense are success problems primarily, being the result of the incredibly high and widely diffused levels of consumption provided for the mass of the people.

Nevertheless, despite these achievements, it is not entirely due to the nature of the beast that economic issues have not disappeared from U.S. political debates. Although the workers' paradise has become reality here, it is by no means certain that nature can endure the strain, even if the economy can. But the environmental question is not really an issue; everyone is agreed that something drastic must be done about it, although both diagnoses and prescriptions still lack focus. Environmental questions aside therefore, there are still some real economic issues, some real problems about which opinion is sharply divided. For one thing, although unemployment is only a fraction of what it was in the terrible thirties, it is several times as high as the current levels in Europe and Japan. While the Germans ponder where to get more workers to fill their job vacancies, we have 10 percent unemployment rates in some of our central cities and a rate of 17 percent among teenagers.

Also, after years of highly financed War on Poverty, we still have the poor with us. In 1971 there were two million American families trying to live on less than $3,000 annual money income from all sources, and three-fourths of these were trying to make it on less than $2,000. That this meant real deprivation and squalor for these people can be confirmed by any schoolteacher having low income children in her class. The six percent of the population receiving public assistance constitute about half of those in poverty; the rest of the poor are on their own. Paradoxes and inequities characterize the welfare picture, where a huge public bureaucracy presides over a system which penalizes people for working, pays women to get rid of their husbands, invites cheating, and denies help to many in the greatest need.

Nor are these problems on the verge of disappearing as the economy continues its climb to new pinnacles of prosperity. Although there is plenty of work for everyone to do, unemployment will persist; and, although it is easily within the nation's economic means to eliminate poverty as it is presently defined, indigence and dependency will continue and will probably increase. For, although unemployment and poverty are economic problems, their persistence is not primarily due to economic causes but is rather the result of certain beliefs which are central to the American economic ideology. There are four myths which play an especially prominent role in perpetuating poverty and unemployment in America.

The first is that: *Good jobs are the answer to poverty.*

This strongly held belief, inhering in the American work ethic, is paradoxically

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responsible for some of our greatest difficulties in coming to grips with both poverty and unemployment. Insisting upon "workfare rather than welfare," Congress has refused to adopt a rational income supplement plan but has financed elaborate work registration and training programs, sometimes operated at twice the average cost of Harvard, but with few placements of graduates in jobs.

The most difficult aspect of this boundless trust that good jobs must be the answer, if only we can beef up the program somehow, is that it is almost, but not quite, right. (It is always the heresies which are almost true which do the greatest damage.) It is indeed true that if all of the poor could be employed full-time at average American wages, absolute poverty would disappear. (*Absolute* poverty is defined as having an income below $3,968 for a nonfarm family of four in 1970 dollars; *relative* poverty, on the other hand, in the sense that somebody must always be at the bottom of the income scale, we will of course always have with us. The absolute poverty standard remains the same over time, being corrected each year only for price changes.)

There are essentially two reasons why this is a myth and not a fact. In the first place, high proportions of the poor are unable to work because they are too young or too old or are disabled. Secondly, among many of those who are able to work, the achievement of the productivity requisite for a "good job" is simply not a realistic possibility.

The proportion of low-income families headed by a person 65 years of age or over is more than twice the same proportion among median-income families. Especially among unattached individuals is poverty to a great extent a problem of old age and/or invalidism. The largest category of welfare recipients, children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, are too young to work. They might indeed be helped by "good jobs" for their fathers. However, this would require higher levels of steady productivity on the part of their fathers than the realities of the American job market give us any reason to expect in the near future. The fathers of many of these children are engaged in the highly seasonal and fluctuating parts of the economy, where jobs are seldom steady. At present, the government often spends more in tracking down and punishing fathers for nonsupport than it would cost to maintain the children on welfare (or better yet on a rational income supplement program), especially when the result of the chase is to clap the father in jail, thus saddling the taxpayers with the support of the entire family for long periods of time.

As far as good jobs for the mothers of these children being a solution to poverty, they must be very good jobs indeed to economically justify the hiring of mother substitutes, simply because child care is itself one of the most highly skilled and demanding of all jobs and one which cannot be performed on a mass-production basis. The ideal ratio of attendants to children in a nursery is about the same as that between mothers and children in not-very-large families. In other words, economically speaking, the best job for a mother in most instances is caring for her own young children, unless she is one of the small proportion of truly incompetent or abusive parents.

If the purpose of the public nurseries is not primarily to free mothers for "good jobs" but instead to reach the children at an early age with better raising than their mothers can give them, and one suspects that this is what is really behind a lot of the talk, then that is a horse of another color. Granted that mothers in all income groups do a less-than-perfect job raising their children, there is no proof that better results would be achieved in public nurseries; in fact, there is some evidence to suggest the opposite. There is much to indicate, however, that a few hours a week in nursery school, especially if mother is also involved, is very good for young children, but this would not free mothers to "work."

In this connection it should be noted that economists are largely responsible for these recurrent suggestions of "making women productive" by farming out their children somewhere so that they can "work." The problem at the root of all this nonsense is a statistical one: when they measure the GNP, economists attach no monetary value to any of the work that women do at home. So, statistically speaking, a truly gifted and hard-working mother makes no contribution to the GNP. But if she parks her children in an indifferent nursery and goes to work in an office where she spends the entire day on a coffee break, the GNP is increased!

As the numbers in absolute poverty continue to decrease by the process of creaming off the most able, the proportion among those remaining who are either unable to work at all or able only to work at low-productivity jobs is bound to increase, thus diminishing the viability of the good-job approach for curing poverty. Meantime the economy will continue to need the services of a casual labor force; their "stand-by" value to the economy should be recognized by a federal income supplement that would augment (and not discourage or destroy, as is now so often the case) their own earnings when necessary. Also the poverty of many low-income families could be alleviated and other positive good achieved if we could improve our capability for employing teenagers, the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, and other low-productivity workers.

This brings us to Myth number two: *The minimum wage should be set by law at a level that enables a worker to support his family decently.*

It is a curious fact that this belief, with its implicit distrust of the market, is more firmly entrenched in "free enterprise" America than in the more "socialistic" economies of Europe, most of which have no minimum wage laws. It represents another facet of the work ethic, affirming the right of a worker to receive "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

Economically, the minimum wage acts like any other support price in that, if it has any effect at all, it tends to limit demand. If the legal minimum wage is below the market wage, it has no effect. If, however, it is above the market wage, it is likely to deprive some of the lowest-paid workers of jobs they might otherwise have. It is all very well for congressional idealists to proclaim that "jobs that pay less than two dollars an hour should not exist;" for the person facing the alternatives of low wages or unemployment, low wages are probably preferable.

In the United States, hikes in minimum wages are quickly followed by increases in unemployment among teenagers, the group for whom unemployment rates are highest. Nevertheless, the political appeal of the legal wage minimum is so strong that it is not only retained but steadily increased. Such laws affect not only the occupations to which they legally apply but, by force of example, many others as well. Thus, the elderly pensioner hiring a boy to mow his lawn is embarrassed to pay less than the minimum wage.

It is ironic that this is done ostensibly in the interests of enabling men to support their families, for in fact less than a third of American workers are solely responsible for family support. The vast majority of American workers belong to two-or-more-job families or have no family responsibilities.

Minimum wage laws not only increase unemployment but also increase poverty among those families which might otherwise have several sources of low-wage income. It also deprives society of a variety of useful services that make life more pleasant and attractive. (The pensioner may just let his lawn go.)

This brings us to Myth number three: *The best remedy for unemployment is a big public works program that provides good jobs in areas of high joblessness.*

By now probably everyone, even the sternest ascetic among the public budget-balancers, realizes that great depressions with massive unemployment are unnecessary in the developed, industrial society. In essence, the trick is really quite simple. All the government has to do is, by using a variety of monetary/fiscal weapons at its disposal, to keep total spending by individuals, private businesses, and government itself high enough to employ everyone who wants to work. If private spending fails for some reason, as it did in the early 1930s, the government can make up for this deficiency by adjustments in its own spending and taxing.

Unfortunately, the alternative of massive increases in public spending has now come to be regarded in certain quarters as the *only* remedy for unemployment, when in fact the government has the option of reducing taxes so that people and businesses can increase their spending. The multiplier so beloved of public-spending advocates works just as well for tax cuts.

It has become routine in recent years for cities, trying to cope with a flood of job-seekers and welfare applicants arriving from rural areas, to apply for federal funds

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for highways, urban "renewal," and other public projects. Unfortunately, many of these projects chiefly increase the demand for land and for large amounts of heavy equipment operated by small crews of highly skilled workers, thus leaving acute problems of unemployment substantially unimproved. As much as half of the costs of an urban highway project may go for land acquisition, which of course has no direct employment-creating effects at all. Public works projects displace and often permanently destroy large numbers of job-creating private businesses, erode local tax rolls, diminish the viability of local government, and advance the growth of federal power.

There is reason to believe that if tax reductions were more often used to stimulate employment instead of placing such enthusiastic reliance on public works, several good effects could be expected. In the first place, the increase in private spending that would result from tax reduction would be more likely to reflect the preferences of consumers than public works projects do. The large number of citizen suits being brought against public projects of various sorts across the country suggest the inability of government planners to please the public as well as do private providers of goods and services.

Secondly, private expenditures are likely to create more jobs than would equivalent amounts of public works which tend to be highly capital-intensive and heavily devoted to financing land speculation. In contrast, personal tax reductions increase personal disposable income, 90 percent of which is used for personal consumption. Tax reduction would, therefore, directly and immediately increase demand and create new jobs in the clothing, food-processing, retailing, and personal services sectors, precisely the areas where automation is least important and where new demand creates large numbers of new jobs.

Finally, a well-designed, broadly based tax reduction would be of greater direct benefit to the poor than most public works projects, which often benefit chiefly the middle and upper classes. (Urban renewal has become notorious for providing amenities for the affluent at the expense of the homes and businesses of the poor.) In contrast, reductions in sales and property taxes, made possible by federal revenue-sharing, would confer great benefits on the poor, who pay large proportions of their income in these taxes.

Related variations on the theme of public works are accelerated depreciation allowances to stimulate private investment during recession and public jobs creation. The first is in effect a tax reduction restricted to business; it suffers from the defect of encouraging employers in a labor-surplus economy to replace labor with capital equipment. In contrast, a general reduction in effective income tax rates would also stimulate aggregate demand but without discriminating against the use of labor in the productive process. Public jobs creation is not likely to give sufficient attention to the value of the jobs done. Again in contrast, the recipients of a tax cut would spend their additional income in ways contributing most to their own satisfaction, thus calling forth not wasted effort but maximum efficiency from the economy.

It goes without saying that a tax cut which merely increased existing inequities would not serve the purposes here intended. The need of the entire U.S. tax system for overhaul is another whole story. Indeed, this long-overdue exercise may be one of the most important steps that can be taken to reduce poverty and unemployment. In addition to overhaul, provisions should be made for short-term flexibility of rates, to stimulate or restrain aggregate demand at appropriate times.

Myth number four is an indirect offshoot of the work ethic: *The poor do not respond to economic incentives the way the rest of us do.*

Whether the poor are "economic men" is a question on which prevailing opinion is deeply contradictory. On the one hand is the belief that many, perhaps most, of the poor are so lazy and shiftless they'd rather starve than work. On the other is the suspicion that most recipients of public assistance are clever manipulators who have devised a way of obtaining a comfortable income at the expense of the taxpayers—in a word, that the poor are not only economic men but shrewdly successful maximizers.

From this set of antagonistic convictions flows the philosophy behind past and present treatment of the poor in America. Provided with little information about job openings and priced out of the market by minimum wage laws, they are condemned for not working by an outraged society. Penalized when they do work by welfare schemes which tax earnings at confiscatory rates and which pay women to get rid of their working husbands, they are threatened with compulsory work registration laws. Held off the job market to raise wages for the unionized labor force, they are kept in the status of children by an army of social workers who dole out their money, supervise their personal lives, and endlessly sleuth for cheaters. One-third of the costs of public assistance is absorbed by the bureaucracy.

Elaborately expensive "research" has examined the (presumably unique) economic thinking and motivations of the poor. One such study discovered, at the Lord-only-knows-what cost, that the poor perceive their major problem to be a lack of money. But aside from the facts that the researchers needed the money and Congress needed an alibi for stalling on the welfare question, the studies were unnecessary. The flood of poor immigrants to cities having the most generous welfare systems should have suggested even to the most obtuse that the poor know how to choose more rather than less pretty much like the rest of us. Experience with public assistance schemes that tax earnings at 100 percent shows that hardly any welfare recipients insist upon working for nothing. Tests of income supplement plans that allow families to keep much of their earnings indicate that the poor have the usual American eagerness to improve their economic status, even by working.

However, after years of mightily laboring with the poverty and unemployment questions, there is still little sign of any recognition on the part of Congress or the public it represents that the poor may be much like the rest of us. Progress toward even the simplest essential—regional job

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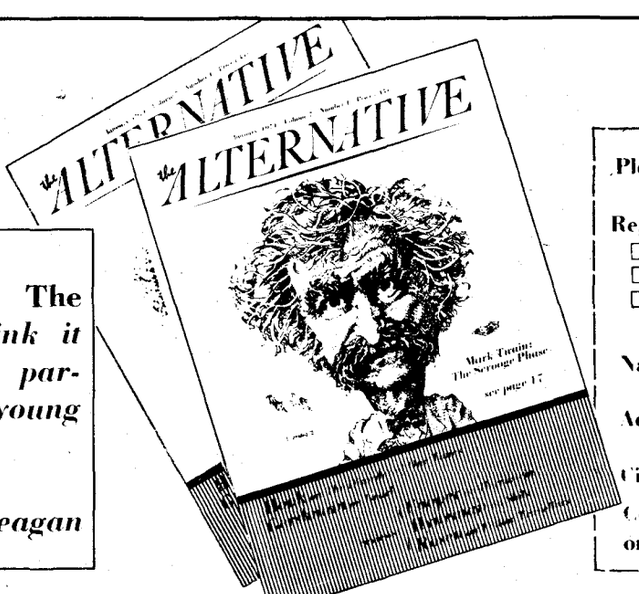
—Gov. Ronald Reagan



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lists that would tell low-skilled workers where there are job-openings for them—is still agonizingly slow. Families headed by fully employed, low-wage fathers continue to be ineligible for public aid.

If the problems were merely poverty and unemployment, miraculous relief could be achieved by the application of a few rather simple remedies: 1) Providing through the public employment service complete computerized regional job information, so that anyone looking for a job could see where openings exist for his particular skill or lack of it. 2) Abolishing all public measures, such as minimum wage laws and investment subsidies, which make machinery appear to be cheaper than labor. 3) Stimulating the economy, when necessary, by broadly based tax reductions rather than by public works (unless the public works are needed for excellent reasons apart from their contracyclical effects). 4) Extending complete health insurance to the entire population, because poverty and unemployment are closely associated with illness and disability. 5) Reforming the tax system to reduce its burdens on the poor. Reduction of property and sales taxes comes first to mind. Payment of a modest personal exemption to all persons before computation of income-tax liability would be a cheaply administered way of supplementing low incomes without destroying work incentives. So would a negative tax supplement to low earning.

All of the above could be accomplished at moderate cost relative to amounts now being spent and without further increases in the public bureaucracy.

But the root of the problem is not economic but ideological. It is precisely because we have tried so hard to enforce our work ethic that we have managed to eliminate all opportunity and incentive for many people. It is because we have been so determined that not a penny of public aid shall be given to anyone that doesn't need it that our poverty programs absorb such huge funds without making much dent in the problem.

Our reverence for work is a primordial remembering of the taming of the continent, with sleeves rolled up and sweat pouring down. The country was indeed built by people uniquely given to hard work. It is a wry paradox that in our own time such unfortunate results could stem from the reverence for so sturdy a virtue. □

Book Review

Sexual Suicide

by George F. Gilder
Quadrangle $7.95

PERSONS WHO CONSIDER suicide morally okay frequently contend that it is an act which has a protagonist but no other victim. Similarly, the defense for today's assorted sexual liberation movements has been the highly publicized claim that their crimes are "victimless." In *Sexual Suicide* George F. Gilder refutes this allegation with a move that must be familiar to any reader of murder stories: he produces the corpse—civilized society, or what is left of it.

Rather than show a *fait accompli*, Gilder produces the body theoretically, as a prognosis—one which a growing bad odor seems to confirm. How does he do it? The essence of Gilder's great deductive ability, as with most geniuses of detection, is his singular talent for making the proper connections.

"Sex," his book begins, "is too important a subject to leave to the myopic crowd of happy hookers, Dr. Feelgoods, Black Panthers, white rats, answer men, evangelical lesbians, sensuous psychiatrists, retired baseball players, pornographers, dolphins, swinging priests, displaced revolutionaries, polymorphous perverts, and *Playboy* philosophers—all bouncing around on waterbeds and typewriters and television talk shows, making 'freedom' ring the cash registers of the revolution."

Dick Cavett finds linking together such various organisms incomprehensible, and he recently went to great lengths on his chatty television show to advise Gilder that the linking of such organisms must discredit *Sexual Suicide*. But Cavett's judgement is ridiculous. His assumption is derived from the women's liberation movement's false system of antitheses, by which *Playboy* philosophers and right-thinking feminists would be considered diametric opposites. Yet, rather than being antithetical, these two groups—for whom love is free and ethics situational—are closely allied in the struggle for several crucial objectives. They are, as the other principals of Gilder's list are also, all agents—or, in the case of the dolphins and white rats, unwitting dupes—of the sexual revolution.

Once the feminists had pictured an illusory opposition, it was a simple matter to reduce all analyses into the unenlightening terms of oppressor and oppressed. The past decade, Gilder writes, has been "a period when every group of complainants and protesters, however well situated—from Ivy League students to suburban women—are decked out in the heroic vestments of the civil rights movement: 'the (student) (woman) (junior professor) (professional baseball player) is the nigger of the world'; when the whole crowd is fitted with the Marxist trappings of a 'new proletariat': Women, students, children of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose."

But, in truth, women have everything to lose, and the women's liberation movement, it seems, is dedicated to losing it. Knowing only the discontent they felt with the female roles, the modern feminists have placed all their hopes for amelioration in an assault on traditional male roles, which they seek to adopt, or, if that is impossible, to destroy. However, in its efforts to root out masculinity the women's movement has become sadly lost. In her definitive book, *Male and Female*, Margaret Mead cites the case of a primitive society "where women do not enjoy being women." Mead comments that this lack of enjoyment was "not because public rewards given males are denied to them—influence, power, wealth, are all open to women—but because the sensuous creative significance of the female role of wife and mother is so undervalued."

Gilder accomplished his primary anthropological research among the Ripon Republicans of eastern Massachusetts. Yet, from the other side of the globe in the South Pacific aborigine, he stumbles upon some—shall we say—strikingly similar phenomena. Among these otherwise moderate Republicans he discovers sexual revolutionaries who share the upper class style of thought which curiously pervades the women's movement. Presuming that womanhood has no intrinsic worth and judging the career world from their own exalted social position, these feminists have joined the crusade to move American women out of the home and into the market place—apparently to find creativity and self-expression behind a sewing machine. "For most people," Gilder observes, "the one place they are least free, powerful, and individual is at work." On the contrary, "most people enjoy their real gratification not in the office or on the assembly line but in the domestic and sexual arenas."

The feminist's initial error is one common to reform movement. Whenever the status quo becomes insufferable the inexorable first impulse of reformers is to further reduce whatever beleaguered traditional institution might be keeping civilization's head above water. Thus the first goal of some—and the tendency of all—feminists is to sacrifice without ceremony what the *New York Times Book Review* has called "the nuclear family, that cradle of evil." Differing slightly from this reasoned judgement, Gilder sees society's main problem to be precisely those who are most free from that cradle of evil—unsocialized males.

"Men," Gilder writes, "commit over 90 percent of major crimes of violence, 100 percent of the rapes, 95 percent of the burglaries. They comprise 94 percent of our drunken drivers, 70 percent of the suicides . . . . More specifically, the chief perpetrators are *single* men. Single men comprise between 80 and 90 percent of most of the categories of social pathology, and on the average they make less money than any other group in society—yes less than single women or married women." Single men are 21 times more likely than married ones to be incarcerated in correctional or mental institutions. "Together with the disintegration of the family," these unsocialized males "constitute our leading social prob-

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lem." This problem is in turn, Gilder says, largely the outcome of society's undervaluing what Mead called "the sensuous creative significance of the female role of wife and mother."

"The crucial process of civilization," Gilder writes, "is the subordination of male sexual impulses and psychology to long-term horizons of female biology . . . . Modern society relies increasingly on predictable, regular, long-term human activities, corresponding to the female sexual patterns. It has little latitude for the pattern of impulsiveness, aggressiveness, and immediacy, arising from male insecurity without women—and further enhanced by hormonal activity. This is the ultimate and growing source of female power in the modern world. Women domesticate and civilize male nature. They can destroy civilized male identity merely by giving up the role."

From this Gilder does not argue that women might not abandon family life to replace men in the job market. He only points out that as well as an expensive daycare system to take care of the young, society will have to support a costly police state to handle the displaced males. It takes no ideological straining to reach this hypothesis: when men are asked why they work, much of the time they will simply pull out a picture of their wife and kids. To the women's liberation movement all jobs have some hitherto unnoticed inner worth. But most men seek jobs so that they will be in a position to marry and raise a family. "Freed" from their roles as providers, idle males will have the time to explore their other interests—such as hunting—although in urban areas there is notoriously little but human game.

Gilder is similarly skeptical of the sensuous massage school of liberationist thought. "A kind of Gresham's law applies. Bad sex drives out the good, and the worst of all—philandering and homosexuality—are exalted. Gay liberation, pornographic glut, and one-night trysts are all indices of sexual frustration; all usually disclose a failure to achieve profound and loving sexuality. When a society deliberately affirms these failures—contemplates legislation of homosexual marriage, celebrates the women who denounce the family, and indulges pornography as a manifestation of sexual health and a release from oppression—the culture is promoting a form of erotic suicide. For it is destroying the cultural preconditions of profound love and sexuality: the durable heterosexual relationships necessary to a community of emotional investments and continuities in which children can find a secure place."

The intellectual minority's compulsive discounting of family values leads to its snotty refusal to understand the majority's persistent opposition to gun control, busing, welfare, and the liberalization of abortion, drug, and divorce laws. Most Americans instinctually recognize, Gilder says, that "all these measures directly impinge on that sensitive psychological terrain, involving sexuality, children, and the family, which underlies the sexual constitution of the society." The liberal elite sees these issues in only abstract and somewhat opportunistic terms, because, instead of perceiving America to be a nation of families, it proceeds under the illusion that there are only independent, undifferentiated "human beings."

At this juncture in history, with a Republican Administration using the massive apparatus of what once was the civil rights movement to enforce some of feminism's more pernicious doctrines, Gilder's one-man stand against the sexual revolution is a courageous and civic-minded act reminiscent of Horatio on the bridge. Radical lesbians now follow Gilder around and, in the customary fashion of "liberators," try to disrupt his appearances on television talk shows. The lesbian advertising must certainly be effective, but *Sexual Suicide* is a brilliant, witty, and deeply perceptive book—one with perhaps enough merits to stand on its own. The remaining question, and one of faint interest, is whether the book is the prescription for society or just it's autopsy.

J. Whitney Stillman

Book Review

Four Reforms

A Program for the Seventies

by William F. Buckley, Jr.
Putnam $4.95

A NOT INCONSEQUENTIAL charge against conservatives is that they are good only at criticizing, not at proposing. If that which is somewhat optimistically called "the conservative movement" has any cohesiveness at all, an iffy proposition, it is a negative glue: we are agin' 'em—the liberals, their gargantuan state, their reflexive do-goodism, their tricky moralisms, their with-it causes, their lapping after this fashionable minority and that. But we rarely come up with serious advocacy of change, enshrining Viscount Falkland's adage: when it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change. Perhaps it is the conservative *temperament* (which, not so incidently, William Buckley lays no claim to) that occasions this reluctance to offer workable suggestions; maybe it is that when on rare occasions such a suggestion is made (I think for instance of Frank and John Meyer's ideas about pollution, as outlined in an ACU pamphlet and as discussed by John Meyer in the May-June 1970 issue of *The Alternative*), it is universally ignored, by conservatives too.

Whatever, our forte is not programmatic policy-making, our strength is not in outlining useful reforms. So long as we stand negatively, we stand together; when we strut out with an idea for an alteration in the way things work, especially if, God forbid, some liberal should have come to a similar conclusion, we are sliced off from the fold by some segment of the Right. Count on Mr. Buckley's new book to gain him fewer new friends on the Right than he deserves; count on it as well to rekindle libertarian-traditionalist bonfires.

We have here Mr. Buckley's most important book after *The Unmaking of a Mayor* (1966), which, though a near-perfect exposition of the conservative in politics, and containing a cornucopia of deliciously sound suggestions about how to make things better (or at least work), passed into and out of the book stores with nowhere near the serious evaluation it merited. Indeed *Four Reforms*, shorter, even better written, more (somehow) *available*, is in ways too obvious to belabor a continuation of the position papers sections of *Unmaking*, leavened by seven years reflection, and tempered, his detractors will say, by his status as kept conservative of the media. If for no other reason than style alone—and there are those who slide out of considering Buckley's ideas by dwelling on his language and cooing about his syntax—*Four Reforms* is a gem; I can think of only a handful of his recent essays, as for instance that to the Conservatives of New York remarking Agnew's fall, which match it for pure grace. The temptation to quote in hefty chunks must be resisted.

Four Reforms is good news, and bad. This reviewer, a conservative of libertarian persuasion, will of course parcel out the gold stars and black marks other than will his brethren further into the traditionalist mold. Let us start with the bad, which Mr. Buckley has mercifully confined to his Introduction, "two proposals, or reforms, which I prescind from the others" for reasons he doesn't care to reveal to us, reasons which I hope are owing to his unsureness about them. Probably I am thinking wishfully. Never mind, they are these: he calls for a single, six-year term for the President and proposes a year of service to the aged by youths following high school, as precondition for matriculation at college.

As to the single six-year term, space precludes a rebuttal. But the other proposal, arising out of his just and decent and worthy concern for the aged and his belief that young people make better students after a breather between high school and college and would be better people by participating in the tending of the oldest living generation, passes too quickly before us, as if there were no question therein of compulsion. Sure, Mr. Buckley does not propose that all young people *have* to spend this year "in public service," only—only!—that they can't go to college without it. We have

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heard something of the sort from Senator Javits, and a recent poll reveals that a majority of Americans favor compelling all young people to spend *two years* in something like Vista, say; it sits no more comfortably coming from our friend Buckley than from the other side. It is, in short, a version of the statist altruism game: *you owe it to your country.* I cannot buy it and hope others will resist it actively. I revere Bill Buckley as mentor and love him as a friend; this idea I abhore.

The body of the book, however, is tremendously wise, modest but bold, daringly simple, yet close to revolutionary; if they ignore this one they will have shown themselves impervious to a conservative approach to anything. The reforms are these:

1) Congress shall appropriate funds for social welfare only for the benefit of those states whose per capita income is below the national average. With a minimum of statistical charts, in language even an economic simpleton can comprehend, Buckley shows how ridiculous our current governmental policy on welfare is. Not only does the money slosh down to Washington, get diluted, and then drip back up to the states whence it came; it also comes from the poorer states and goes to the richer. "Blessed are they who do not see yet believe," he writes; it will take time to instruct people in economic truths, but it's time well spent. Chapter One is economic instruction in the brilliant manner of Hazlitt; it is, as The Leader in Washington would say, perfectly clear. It is, moreover, stunning in its simplicity, and we should push for it.

2) Congress should eliminate the "progressive" feature of the income tax, eliminate all deductions except those that relate directly to the cost of acquiring money, eliminate all exemptions and the corporate tax, reimburse taxpayers below the poverty line any federal taxes regressive in impact, and levy a uniform tax of 15 percent on all income. And a bit more, but that's the crux of it. Who pays the highest proportion of income in taxes under the current system? Surprise! The poorest taxpayers, and the richest. As with the first reform, the statistics he provides are revealing, and compelling. The ultralibertarian is not going to cotton to the idea of preserving the income tax at all, and his opposite number among the traditionalists may not enjoy the hard facts of today's inequitable taxation system. But facts they are, and the income tax will be with us, like death and transfiguration, always. So best to make it work better. The Buckley proposal would greatly help.

3) An amendment to the Constitution, courtesy of WFB: "No child shall be denied admission to a public school . . . on account of race, creed, color, or national origin. . . . Nor shall any relief authorized by any legislature for children attending nonpublic schools be denied by virtue of any provision in the Constitution of the United States or of any State." That's how amendments sound, ladies and gentlemen. In English: no forced busing (which has been shown not to work to achieve the good things busing's sponsors hope for), and help to private and parochial schools as to public ones. Once more, Mr. Buckley's libertarian friends will yelp: why any government involvement in schooling *at all*?! Once more: right now that's the way it is, and everybody hates busing but the social engineers, and nonpublic schools are dropping like stock prices. Buckley's book is not utopian; it is practical. This is an entirely sensible, completely workable proposal, and, I'd wager, it would be very popular. He's batted 1,000, discounting the two mini-proposals at the start. And then:

4) "The Fifth Amendment (as currently interpreted) should be repealed. Procedures should adapt to the criterion: Did he do it? Procedures should adapt to the goal of speedier justice." Ergh. *As stated.* Because he does *not* propose to do away with the Fifth Amendment, only with the provision against self-incrimination (and some will say to that, *only!*) and such interpretations as the court has inflicted upon this nation, resulting in criminals guilty as sin walking the streets to strike again because of details of procedure. This is a less simple case than the preceding three, less simple, that is, to endorse without qualification, and it requires and brings out the most ingenious argumentation at his disposal to buttress it. I must at this point stand agnostic about the wisdom of the disputed parts of the Fifth Amendment; too many years, maybe, under the wing of the Constitutional scholar Leonard Levy, and a sobering brush with the law once, have made me suspicious of doing away with *any* procedural guarantees. Yet proposal four herein is inspired by a desire for more justice not less, and within our fold it should (though it won't) provoke the most debate.

One places this newest addition to the growing five-foot shelf of Buckleyana in a spot of honor. It is an exquisitely fashioned handful of essays, delightsome, as a Puritan said of some Indians, to behold, provocative, and learned, the mature ideas of *un homme serieux.* Which reminds me, a minor cavil: must the punchlines always be in Latin? I mean, "*Castigo te non quod odio habeam, sed quod amem,*" and all that, rather reduces the audience, not so? Japanese would do as well, and of Bill Buckley's little failing in this splendidly successful book I must sadly declare (and *you* look this one up, Bill, as I must look up "*Castigo . . .*"): *shikata ga nai.*

David Brudnoy

Book Review

The Children of Darkness

by Richard S. Wheeler
Arlington House $7.95

IN A SENSE, we are all victims of the Dewey decimal system: over here is a book on sociology or economics; over on that shelf is psychology or poetry or self-help. *The Children of Darkness* does not readily fit any of these pigeonholes because it uniquely examines public institutions in the light of private character, and explores personal dreams in the context of public ideologies. A chapter, for example, explores the craze to be "individualistic"—i.e., not one of the masses—and enlarges the theme into the phenomenon of widespread alienation, and ultimately into social radicalism. Elsewhere, Richard Wheeler explores the youth culture not in terms of the usual contexts, but rather as a weakening of character and a decaying of values.

All of these divers threads are woven into a grander theme: the apocalyptic struggle between secular, agnostic (and usually leftist) people, and the religious (and usually more conservative) people. For it is along this "fault in the bedrock" of the Republic, as Wheeler puts it, that the ultimate values confront each other. All else—partisan politics, liberal and conservative ideologies, the struggles of interest groups—he subsumes to the titanic clash between those who worship God and adhere to the Christian ethic and the New Men who do not. The battle rages on multiple fronts: abortion, pornography, egalitarianism, pacifism, socialism—all, along with innumerable other issues, take root in the deeper theological schism.

The youth culture of the sixties was the vanguard of a secularist trend dating back to the Renaissance, Wheeler believes, and he regards it as the first clear-cut emergence of purely secular men unrestrained by conscience, guilt, or the desire to improve themselves and be productive. Youths acted out in reality what their secular-humanist parents and mentors only dreamed of doing in the distant future.

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Charles Reich, for instance, wrote enviously of a greening generation that enjoyed free sexuality, the abandonment of manners and morals, escape from work, and an ultimate individuality that spat in the face of the traditional and the sacred. Upon this rubble of Western civilization and the Christian ethic, the children of darkness have intended to build their freedoms and lives.

The bulk of the book deals with the ludicrous failure of this secular vision. It is in effect a hymn of Christian belief, a defiant song of faith cast out into the twilight of the life of the Church, a song celebrating the teachings of Jesus as the moral basis for liberty and compassion in the world. It was this amazing religion, Wheeler observes, that internalized law and charity in the breasts of believers, and established a mechanism of guilt and forgiveness, all of which enabled the growth of mild and benevolent governments and free economies. Christianity assumed the burdens of charity and order: it built hospitals, orphanages, and schools. It regulated family and neighborhood life, thus lessening the burdens and scope of government.

But the children of darkness, he notes, have been remarkably barren: they have built no hospitals or charities, succored no poor, attained no surpluses for charity (on the contrary, they are parasites), added nothing to the sum of learning, and contributed nothing permanent to spiritual life. They have sought individuality in differentness, these strange children of the dark: "They call it alienation or nonconformity or individualism and all it actually is is a flight into the darkness and all it accomplishes is a terrifying loneliness outside the perimeter of community and communion. They have denied themselves the bread and wine, and in their arrogance they condemn themselves to a half-life of pawing through trash heaps. They are vain."

Wheeler summons the ghost of Winston Churchill to demonstrate that individuality does not necessarily rest upon alienation. Churchill, he notes, is commonly regarded as the most individualistic person of the century, yet in no major way was he alienated from his society. On the contrary, throughout his long life he celebrated the genius of his island race, his monarchs, his nation's manners and common law. He was too busy scaling Everests to worry about the distance between his views and those of the run of Englishmen.

Nowhere is Wheeler's discernment of the youth culture more telling than in his discussion of liberty. It is not a lust for freedom, he argues, but rather the dread of it, that impells the children of darkness into the retreat of drugs, communes, and an alienated life. Capitalism terrifies the kids because it offers them endless opportunity and the chance to evolve themselves into something great. But they opt instead not to work. They prefer the stodgy certitudes of socialism, where life is assured, to the uncertainties of capitalism, where sheer freedom opens up the terrifying prospects of success and failure, advance and retreat, and the evolution of character that reaches toward *dominion* over one's life. So the children of darkness *flee* individuality, even while celebrating a fake version of it by growing beards, wearing dreary clothing, or rejecting the social ethos.

Wheeler does not simply justify religion for its social or personal utility—his passion for a mild and free community, informed by religious authority, runs deeper than that. Christianity is the acting out of God's will, the sole source of valid authority. He grasps the nettle of authoritarianism boldly, noting that reverence for higher things is essential to a good commonweal. The failure of secular men to revere anything beyond themselves is the root nihilism of the Left—and can lead only to the strife of all against all.

But for all of Wheeler's grapplings with things sacred and profane, the book is an adventure in English. He has been a newsman: the language is casual and brisk, with an occasional goodhumored *mot* such as his sly observation that nothing very radical has ever emerged from Norman Mailer's belly. This is the sort of book that sets off fireworks in the heads of its readers, and starts trains of thought that end up in unexplored places.

He ranges widely—sometimes without much organization—into the whole relationship of the counterculture to the established order: to liberals, to the economy, to religion. As always, he moves to and fro from the outer world of social structures to the inner world of the soul, discussing the Dirty Speech Movement at Berkeley, the flower children, the pharmaceuticals, the radical libertarians, and the puritans; the demolition of form in art and music; the hypocrisies of the squares who talk free enterprise while begging government favors; the problems caused by permissiveness on the one hand and parental overprotectiveness on the other; the role of guilt in social and personal order; and the relationships of strong character to yeoman liberties.

One senses, all in all, that he himself was once a child of darkness who then fought clear of so many of its tribulations that he writes about them with an uncanny intimacy. If he was never actually part of the counterculture, it seems clear enough that he has shared its temptations and learned to beware its follies. We sense in the author a conscious struggle back from the brink of secular and modernist thought, and into the higher life of the spirit. He writes: "Now and then a man or woman emerges from the subculture a scarred, humble, and altogether beautiful person who has seen and rejected hell and has something urgent to say about it." Did Mr. Wheeler have someone in mind? The question tantalizes.

John Caravan

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The Public Policy

by Peter J. Rusthoven

Analyzing the Clods' Narcotic

A FEW WEEKS AGO the American Broadcasting Company presented a special program entitled ***Judgment: The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.*** Now, most of you probably recall the Rosenbergs as the husband and wife who were convicted of, and eventually executed for, espionage in behalf of the Russians in connection with the United States atomic bomb project at Los Alamos. If such was your memory of the event, however, ABC's little prime-time drama did its very best to disabuse you of such a naïve and simplistic view. From the very beginning, the show served notice that it would strive to be "controversial," "thought provoking," "intelligent" drama. Or so producer Stanley Kramer informed the home audience by way of introduction. Kramer followed this with a little discourse on the "hysteria" gripping the country in 1951 while the trial took place, as behind him a mushroom cloud slowly blossomed and then faded from the screen. Dissolve now to the trial itself, which, according to the network and Kramer, involved a sensitive and bewildered couple being railroaded to the electric chair by a nefarious, paranoid government (prominently featuring future McCarthy aide Roy Cohn as an assistant prosecutor) and a collection of confessed-spies-turned-perjurers, out to get the Rosenbergs to save their own skins. Why then, you may ask, did the jury convict? Very simple—the Rosenbergs took the Fifth Amendment when asked if they were members of the Communist Party, and, of course, the hysteria-gripped men and women of the jury considered that the equivalent of a plea of guilty. After the stern cold warrior of a judge sentences the pair to death, the scene switches to Sing Sing, where Julius and Ethel exchange sentimental love letters (read outloud for the benefit of the audience), while an angry world cries ***Sauvons Les Rosenberg*** to a barbaric and unyielding America. Finally, the victims march together to their execution, while Kramer, in a voice slickly concerned, ties everything together by saying that although the Rosenbergs have died, "history will yet have its say." Stirring stuff indeed for a Monday evening.

If some of you are regretting your failure to witness this particular version of history having its say, you need fret no longer. There are any number of opportunities yet in store for you. In the near future, for example, ABC plans to present the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti as part of its ***Judgment*** series, and if their treatment of the Rosenberg case is any indication, you can be sure the network historians will have a great deal to say about the victimized Italian anarchists of the twenties. And there are, supposedly, more such "specials" on tap.

But anyone interested in television's view of our past and present need not search his daily newspaper for occasional announcements of special programs. On the contrary, there are now several regularly scheduled programs which boldly beam their message across the nation, tackling controversial subjects and ideas previously deemed taboo by stuffy little minds. These shows, you see, are part of television's new wave of hard-hitting, mature adult programming—which means, of course, that they are situation comedies. The networks seem inordinately proud of them, and talk of a "new maturity" which permits such programs to replace the pap which formerly saturated the airwaves. My own feelings on this trend are that the pap, however nauseous, was inestimably healthier for the nation. An examination of two of the most popular of these shows should demonstrate what I mean.

The best example along these lines is entitled ***M*A*S*H***, a half-hour sitcom on CBS each Saturday night. Originally a motion picture, ***M*A*S*H*** (an acronym for Mobile Army Surgical Hospital) features a group of funloving doctors and nurses doing good deeds near the front lines of the Korean War. The heroes are a pair of doctors, Captains Pierce and McIntyre, who are cleverly and drunkenly cynical about life in general, and about the army and the Korean War in particular. Each week the audience is treated to their repertoire of snappy one-liners on these topics, and is left to reflect, through its chuckles, on what a silly country we were for letting the neanderthals who run our armed forces interfere in the personal business of some formerly happy Koreans.

Lest you think the pro-army view is unrepresented, allow me to present Majors Frank Burns and Margaret Houlihan. In contrast to Pierce and McIntyre, they are very much in favor of both the army and the war. They are also the program's resident boobs and patsies. Major Burns is given to telling native Koreans that they should be "grateful for our coming over here to save the American way of life in Korea from Communism," or similar nonsense, all intended to expose our idiotic motivation for intervening in the conflict. Of course, the Koreans Burns talks to are all very clever, perceptive, inscrutable types, who respond to him with insightful witticisms like "We thank you from the bottom of our bomb craters," yuk, yuk. Major Houlihan, on the other hand, is a "Regular Army Clown," anally fixated about things like rank and regulations and medals and such, even though there's a war going on and people are out there dying for no good reason. Burns and Houlihan are also revealed each week as Bible-spouting hypocrits, cuddling up in their tents even though Burns has a wife back home—all of which shows how much you can trust those idiots who strut patriotism and morality.

There are other lovable, funny characters in this series, but I think one can see already the major themes of this mature new adult comedy. The Korean War, you see, was really just an early Vietnam, over which our dumb, bumbling country got all worked up with foolish idealism and equally foolish fears about communism, and then proceeded in its obnoxious way to interfere with the peaceful lives of a group of Asians who were really wiser than all of us. All this was tragic, of course, but at least with the aid of some clever young men who saw through it all and realized how truly meaningless the whole patriotic trip was, our folly can be exposed through laughter.

As ***M*A*S*H*** presents our past, so ***All in the Family***, the first of the new hard-hitting, adult TV shows, gives us comic perspective on our present. By now, almost everyone is familiar with Archie Bunker, the program's main character, who each weekend thrills the nation with his portrayal of typical blue-collar American conservatism. According to Bud Yorkin and Norman Lear, innovators of the new approach to TV comedy and producers of the show, this political viewpoint involves about equal portions of bigotry and ignorance, and very little else. Archie, when he is not stating his affection for "Richard E. Nixon" (***sic***), is fond of referring to black women as "mammies" and their sons as either "boys" or "spades." He has also been known to call the mentally retarded either "goofballs" or "halfwits" while in their presence. But Archie is really a victim himself, or so the show's "deeper" moments would have us believe. Trapped in an economic system geared against the little man, he has cheated and lied about working-class friends who might threaten his job security, and in one memorable episode made a transparent attempt to falsify his income tax return in order to help make ends meet.

The show has a live-in son-in-law who serves to highlight the absurdity of Archie's viewpoint. For example, when Archie raises a working man's cry against high prices and inflation, the son-in-law immediately points out that Nixon is responsible, and that things would have been much different had McGovern taken top prize. The live audience usually registers its approval of such ***bon mots*** with prolonged, knowing laughter. Watergate, you may be sure, comes in for a full measure of critical treatment. In short, ***All in the Family***, one of the highest ranking shows in the Nielsen ratings, presents each week a humorous half-hour of ***ad hominum*** argument against the working conservative. An appreciative audience laps it up.

One might fairly ask, of course, what all this has to do with public policy. After all, most of us have seen things on television with which we disagree, but what exactly is one supposed to do about it? There is, I must admit, no satisfactory answer. The

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cure of government censorship would be considerably worse than the disease, and is clearly not even to be considered. One might even argue effectively that if the American public enjoys this type of humor, then they are getting precisely what they want, and what they deserve.

One need not, however, remain silent—for the sooner the public grows weary of this trendy trash, the better. There is nothing wrong with attempting to make television shows more realistic, and today's viewer probably no longer considers *I Love Lucy* an acceptable reflection of his world. But where *Lucy* was merely mindless, *M*A*S*H* and its ilk are actively pernicious. The vast majority of television viewers are teenagers and preadolescents. One can only guess at the effect of week-in, week-out exposure to this tripe on their view of this nation and its history. This much, however, is clear—*All in the Family* and its brethren on the boob-tube will produce neither better thinkers nor more responsible citizens. They will yield, at most, a little more cash for those wonderful men who have learned to exploit the sophomoric cynicism which these shows peddle as the new American wisdom. It is high time we sent them packing. □

Sleeper

Sleeper is a Szechuanese movie. It is delicious, tangy, and satisfying while you are watching it, but it leaves nothing behind. It is profoundly unsubstantial except in the most transitory way.

As everybody knows, *Sleeper* is Woody Allen's latest cinematic venture. Allen is the feckless-looking comic impresario who at thirty-five is the envy of everyone who looks like a schlemiel but knows that he has what it takes to be a movie superstar, if he could but be discovered.

Sleeper is the adventures of a man who went into a hospital for a routine stomach operation and was instead frozen in a time capsule. He is thawed out two hundred years later into a society which is only superficially different from the one he came from.

Allen's comic sense is most acutely shown in the individual scenes and dialogue. He makes funny what is commonplace in life by looking at it in an exaggeratedly serious way. The list of funny episodes is long.

When his time capsule is thawed out, Allen, who plays the leading character, is found to have been wrapped in wrinkled aluminum foil, just as hamburgers are wrapped when put into a freezer—aluminum foil for science fiction, ho-ho.

When he is shown artifacts of the 1970s, he describes them in ways which are quite predictable, but nevertheless always draw a laugh. He is asked who Nixon was. His interrogator says that the only thing that archaeologists can figure out about him is that he must have been a person who was once a leader, but did something so horrendous that all written evidence of him has been expunged.

It is a cheap shot, but it works. Primarily it works for the same reason that most of Allen's jokes work in *Sleeper*—Allen knows his audience. It is a small group of self-selecting, self-reinforcing young people who are familiar with current events and modes, especially with goings on in New York. Indeed Allen's movie is so heavily focussed on New York that parts are almost regional jokes.

Allen is told that there was a great nuclear war caused by "someone named Albert Shanker getting hold of a nuclear warhead." That is a funny joke to people who know Shanker from his teacher's union leadership role in New York City. But how many people know about that?

Similarly, Allen's constant harping on his Jewishness is funny to those familiar with that kind of humor, but to the huge mass of Gentiles in this country, it might appear at best unfamiliar and at worst sick. At one point, for instance, people in 2173 are trying to reorient Allen to his life in 1973. They seat him, in a drugged state, at a table and two of them pretend to be his mother and father talking to him in heavily accented English, generously laced with Yiddish phrases. That has its humor to a small audience, but even to that small audience, it has a slightly self-hurting quality.

Still, the movie has its hilarious moments. Allen suddenly goes into a trance and imagines that he is Blanche DuBois, from *A Streetcar Named Desire*. His girlfriend, Diane Keaton, tries to bring him out of it by imitating Marlon Brando's Stanley Kowalski. Again, terribly funny, but oh, so chic.

Sleeper is a movie whose appeal is to the few, and its appeal is only brief. In a few years, certainly in a decade, it will have lost its humorous appeal for all but those with a really extensive memory for nostalgic trivia.

The movie, for example, lacks the elements of truly lasting humor which are present in the Marx Brothers movies. His interchanges as a pathetically weak man with sexy, demanding women have a quality which sometimes approaches the Chaplinesque, but his resentment of women is so pronounced that it narrows the appeal of the sequences far beyond what Chaplin realized with his idealized, pedestalized women.

It obviously takes a rather small group of people to think that showing a bitchy, demanding woman is, on its face, funny. Where almost all of the audience could empathize with Chaplin's love and worship of women who seemed to be far above him, a far smaller group might understand Allen's falling madly in love with women whom he hates and is disgusted by.

Allen makes enormous fun of Diane Keaton, his *inamorata* in the movie, and she takes it without much of a whimper. Sometimes his misogyny, even when it breaks through the outer limits, and deep into the heart of male chauvinism, is funny though. He has her sing a song when she joins a group of rebels against the modern superstate:

Rebels are we,
Born to be free,
Like fish in the sea.

You cannot help but laugh, even if you wonder why Allen likes her so much.

Still later, Allen, asked by Keaton what he believes in, says "Sex and death—two things which come once in a lifetime." In that joke Allen sums up the feelings of frustration of a larger body of people whose lives are demarcated by frustration and envy.

In his work as a director though, Allen is, most clichéd of all words, uneven. He can set a scene which is hysterically funny at first glance, but he often does not seem to know how to get out of it.

Near the end of the movie, Allen and Keaton are in an operating theater for an attempt at a truly funny concept. They have been asked to "clone" a person from a nose. "Cloning" is the process of developing a complete organism from a single cell. The "Leader" of the society has been killed by a rebel bomb, and only his nose was found in the wreckage. It has been kept alive in the hope that the "Leader," white suit, white tie, white shoes, and "Dry Look" hair-do, can be recreated. That is a funny idea, and giggles are evoked just by the sight of the solitary nose on the operating table in a huge operating theater.

But Allen does not seem to know what to do with it. He and Keaton chase each other around the operating theater and generally try to inject slapstick into a decidedly cerebral situation. It does not work. Even the self-selected audience which cannot help but love themselves shift uneasily in their seats.

The movie then, as the sum of its parts, is transitory, full of "in" jokes, and uneven—though it has its funny moments. Still, it is too much like a Las Vegas night club act. It is too topical, too fluffy. But for the kind of diversion you would hope to see in the lounge at Caesar's Palace, it is superb. □

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The Bootblack Stand

by George Washington Plunkitt

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, is celebrating the publication of his new book, which is now available at avant-garde *bookstores throughout New Jersey. Dr. Plunkitt's book is about the importance of altruism in politics and it is titled* What's in It for Me? *Although Dr. Plunkitt expects to earn ten million dollars from sales of his new book, he has agreed to continue to advise public figures through this column. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, c/o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, Continental U.S.A.*

Dear Dr. Plunkitt:

I am a fourth grade student at Lovely Heights Elementary School in Lovely Heights, New Jersey, just outside Newark. The other day my teacher was talking about President Nixon during my language arts class (actually she talks about President Nixon during all of my classes, but this time she did not cry and use bad words), and I do not think I like him very well. My parents want me to grow up to be just like John F. Kennedy or one of the astronauts, but I am afraid if I enter politics President Nixon will put me on one of his Enemies Lists and I will not be able to watch *Sesame Street* with my father and his friends from the encounter group. Why does President Nixon want to put me on his Enemies List; and is it true that his list is not even printed on recycled paper?

Respectfully,
David Taylor-Ault

Dear Master Taylor-Ault:

Young man you have come to the right place (though I am surprised the goo-goos at National Public Radio did not get to you first). I am pleased to be able to set your young mind at ease regarding these vexatious questions. As to your last question, I can neither confirm nor deny the rumor that the President's various Enemies Lists are printed on recycled paper. All I know is that for his personal correspondence he uses old campaign stationary which he managed to stockpile from his 1962 gubernatorial campaign. As to your earlier question, it seems to me Mr. Nixon could cause you a lot more grief were he to put you on his Friends List, and even worse he could make you his next vice president—that would be the most damaging of all. If you think Mr. Nixon is hard on his enemies take a look at how he treats his friends and his vice presidents.

—GWP

Dear Dr. Plunkitt:

As a practicing marine biologist and full-time ecologist I have for some years been concerned that the world is going to hell in a handbasket and perhaps worse. This energy crisis is bad and then there is the shortage of dance halls. I can't even find one in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and I love to waltz.

The fact is that we are about to run out of many vital resources. By the end of the century I feel we will have absolutely exhausted many of the modern world's most crucial elements including antacids and Valium. So I have thought up a solution to our fading resources, but like all solutions it involves a matter of national priorities as they used to say in the 1960s or of critical choices as they say today.

According to the findings of my research group, the present supply of natural resources in this country would be sufficient for the American people to live independent of the rest of the world for the next five hundred years if they would follow one simple reform: Americans must breed citizens who are only twenty inches high. I believe that the present state of our knowledge of eugenics is sufficient to achieve this goal by the end of the Nixon Administration if only somebody would listen.

Of course this would involve some significant changes in our society. There is the whole question of doorknobs. And New York City's dog population could become a grave menace. Further, you politicians will have to tackle the basketball lobby. But the details can be worked out later. The problem is NOW. I must find a politician who will give my reform the needed push it deserves. What politician has the influence, the foresight, and the brains to take up this sorely needed reform?

Lysander M. Delfin, Ph.D.

Dear Professor Delfin:

There are probably many politicians with the brains to suggest your reform, but as to the vision and the foresight that is another matter. Your best bet is Senator Gravel, the fellow who assured his place in history by commandeering the podium at the Democratic Convention and actually begging the assembled yokels to put him on that fated ticket with the late George McGovern.

Incidentally, I feel you are going about this all wrong. For such a rational and visionary proposal as yours the intellectual groundwork must be laid. I suggest you get some publishing house to put together a book by you (Random House is full of gullible oafs lusting for such junk). Mr. John Leonard of the *New York Times Book Review* is bound to pounce on it with the same kind of mad delight he evinces for all such stuff, and you will be off and running. With a little bit of luck you could be the next Ralph Nader.

—GWP

Peter Hughes

Vietnam Revisited

THIS WRITER RECENTLY had the opportunity to take a ten-day trip to the Republic of Vietnam. The trip included visits to all four of the country's military regions, meetings with various Vietnamese and American officials, as well as visits to Con Son Island —the location of the so-called tiger cages.

Contrary to the popular belief, espoused by that world-wide movement of alienated intellectuals and progressive opinion, South Vietnam does not have the trappings of a "police state." (Having grown up in Berlin, Germany, and having visited the Eastern European countries, I have had the opportunity to see what I consider to be police states.)

I (as the other visitors with me) was very surprised with the predominant youth of the government officials we met. (Most of the ministers we talked with, for example, were in their early thirties, a striking contrast to the leadership of North Vietnam.) Many of these ministers had had the opportunity to spend some time in foreign universities, and they were clearly in their positions because of their own merits, and not just because of their loyalties to Thieu.

Far from being government interventionists, the ministers I met with were classical liberals to the man, i.e., favoring as little government intervention into all aspects of human life as possible. But with rare exception (South Vietnam's Minister for Information, Hoang-Duc-Nha, has the unique distinction of being able to get favorable press reviews in this country—no small task for a Saigon official) we are led to believe that the leadership of South Vietnam is an anonymous face of military and bureaucratic hacks. This is just not the case.

Throughout my visit to Vietnam no one tried to hide the fact that problems (including problems of corruption) exist. Even

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Professor Nguyen Ngoc Huy (a leader of the opposition party, the Social Democratic Alliance) and Bui Diem, (a former ambassador to the United States and publisher of the *Saigon Post* who is held in high regard by opponents of Thieu) were more than candid in their assessment of the cease-fire agreement, America's future role in Vietnam, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of President Thieu, who is generally given good marks.

Hit hard by rampant inflation (estimated at over 60 percent last year) the country, nevertheless, has managed a certain prosperity. The streets of Saigon are filled with motorcycles (Hondas, of course), few policemen, and even less traffic lights (at least that were in use). In the countryside a pacification program (which is moving too slowly for some) is returning farm land to the peasants with the goal of giving them total control over their output, the Vietcong notwithstanding. But the economy is bordering on crisis and the South Vietnamese are in dire need of foreign aid and investment. All of this can change if oil is discovered, and the prospects for finding the world's sweetest crude oil are considered very real. In the meantime, however, President Thieu feels compelled on the one hand to alert the world to the aggression of the North, but on the other hand he recognizes that by doing so he is scaring off foreign economic aid.

My trip was not confined to meeting with government officials and I had ample opportunity to walk the streets of Saigon alone (without, incidentally, the fear of being mugged). One day I visited (unscheduled) the School of Arts and Letters of Saigon University and found (perhaps ironically) that a student election was being held. The people I met with spoke freely about their problems, which covered the entire spectrum of woes, including the need for political reforms and the price of beer. The latter complaint, I found to be a very healthy one.

Although American troop involvement in Vietnam ended with the cease-fire agreement of January 27, 1973—thus concluding U.S. disengagement from the longest war in our nation's history—for the Vietnamese the war continues unrelentingly.

In the year since the cease-fire accord 58,000 Vietnamese soldiers have been reported killed (more than America's total twelve-year loss), and there have been over 335,000 alleged cease-fire violations. In 1973 more than half of the North Vietnamese enemy activity was in the Delta region (the so-called Rice War) as the Vietcong have attempted to capture the rice supplies necessary to sustain their activities in the South. Although no American or South Vietnamese official we met believed the North had the capacity to launch an attack on the level of the 1972 offensive, the Vietcong, for the present at least, do have the capacity to cause occasional embarrassments for the South.

Since the cease-fire agreement the North has infiltrated more than 30,000 troops into the South, bringing its total troop strength (as of December 1973) to 75,000. But the Vietcong political infrastructure in the South is in serious disarray. As a result the Vietcong have had to resort to terrorist activities in an effort to gain control over the civilian population. The North also hopes to rebuild its infrastructure through what has been called the "Third Vietnam" concept. This is a contiguous zone from the demilitarized area to Quang Duc Province, along the Cambodian front where the North is attempting to rebuild its infrastructure by infiltrating 40,000 civilians (men, women, and children) to populate the lowly populated border zones. South Vietnam, however, has steadily increased its control to approximately 85 percent of its territory and 95 percent of its population. (The Vietcong claim to control 12 percent of the population, a modest claim in itself.)

While no one doubts that Hanoi still intends to gain control over the South by force, recent intelligence data indicates that the North does not now consider it the tactical time to attempt any major advances. Hanoi is handicapped by the short-

(continued on page 31)

CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION— OR COUNTERCULTURE?

ELOQUENT YOUNG WRITER DECLARES: AMERICA MUST CHOOSE

RICHARD WHEELER, CONSERVATIVE, WILL RUFFLE ALL LIBERALS AND MANY CONSERVATIVES

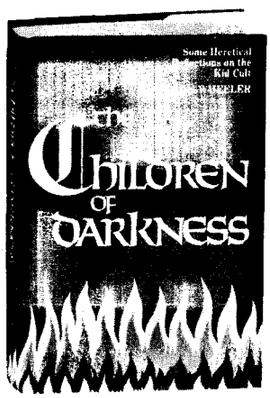
The gulf in America is widening into a chasm: between religious people and secular. "The question," writes Richard S. Wheeler, "is whether this is to be a Christian civilization, or whether Christianity is to be merely a sect within a secular civilization."

Mr. Wheeler opts for Christianity but concedes that "the church has pretty much decamped to the counterculture." He knows this counterculture, having watched it firsthand since Berkeley; but he is frank to blame part of our decline on the collapse of "straight" society.

This bracing book will challenge many conservatives. Mr. Wheeler pleads for *true* individuality—which he finds less among individualists than within the frame of traditional values.

In offering a religious alternative to both the counterculture and the corruptions of "straight" society, Wheeler explores Christianity as the keystone of human liberty; individualism and conformity; the political exploitation of sex; the relationship between the liberals and the kids; ecology and love as counterculture issues: puritanism; squares and conservatives. He compares the Christian vision of salvation with its secular counterparts — science, humane liberalism, individualism, copping out.

Perhaps, Mr. Wheeler concludes, the young are unwittingly performing a service—by showing how little their elders care about anything, "and least of all about moral and spiritual convictions."



- Why liberals are so much better at politics than conservatives
- Is it true that conservatives tend to be more religious than liberals?
- Where, in the spectrum between natural and religious man, do the bulk of Americans belong?
- Political exploitation of sex. Its ultimate goal. Why it is more dangerous than nihilistic politics
- Schisms on the Right: conflict between libertarians and traditionalists reveals deeper, more implacable division
- The church garrisoned. Must Christianity now retreat into monastic life? Why the church will not die
- Faith in science: despite ecology, still the last, flickering hope of both kids and liberals
- The church, not government, as the one avenue to domestic peace
- The vital role of custom, courtesy, and everyday civility
- The political thrust of secularism
- Why the New Left—anarchistic though it is—cannot be divorced from Communism
- Dissent, individuality, conformity—all put in Christian perspective
- The most neglected group in America
- B. F. Skinner as the new guru of the Left
- Why the state is always a poor repository for church law
- The orthodox Christian approach to social responsibility
- Situational morality
- Why the kids hate capitalism
- Proliferating versions of doom current today
- Who are the true radicals in today's society?
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Book Review

The Conservative Mind

from Burke to Eliot

Fifth Revised Edition
by Russell Kirk
Henry Regnery $15.00

READERS OF *The Alternative* will not need an introduction to this book. Well-read conservatives have undoubtedly read *The Conservative Mind* at least once if not many times. My own first copy of the book was purchased while a college student in the middle sixties. Soon my old Henry Regnery paperback edition was tattered and falling apart from my frequent use. Hardly a page of the book escaped my copious margin scribbling. For me, the book was a kind of "bible" of the conservative tradition—the *sine qua non* to the understanding of conservative principles. I felt that it had to be mastered before I could call myself a conservative.

Perhaps it is an exaggeration to say that *The Conservative Mind* has become a bible to American conservatives. But, at the very least, its influence has been far more considerable than the usual political tract or intellectual history. The book's publication marked the beginning of a fresh stirring of conservative ideas in America. "If there is a conservative movement in this country," observed Henry Regnery recently at the 121st Commencement of Hillsdale College, "and we have every reason to believe that there is, it was Russell Kirk who set it in motion." Of all Kirk's many books and articles published since the first appearance of *The Conservative Mind* in 1953, *The Conservative Mind* still remains today in Clinton Rossiter's words "his most enduring contribution to conservatism."

The major portion of *The Conservative Mind* was written in the late forties, to be submitted as Kirk's dissertation for the doctor of letters degree at St. Andrew's University in Scotland. Written when liberalism appeared everywhere triumphant, the book was understandably pessimistic about the prospects for a reemergence of reflective conservative thinking. In fact, the original manuscript of the book was entitled *The Conservatives' Rout.* Conservatism had been born out of Edmund Burke's reaction to the French Revolution. Burke's philosophy had not been interred with him after his death, but had been carried on down through the generations by a few thoughtful statesmen and writers. Although conservative ideas might prosper briefly under the leadership of a Disraeli, Kirk argued, conservatism was more often found fighting a desperate rear-guard action against the excesses of liberal or radical creeds. The history of conservatism appeared to be largely that of an intellectual rout. In the late forties, with the liberal Democratic Party firmly entrenched in Washington, D.C., and the Clement Attlee Labour Party government elected in Great Britain, conservative prospects never looked more dim to Kirk.

However, while Kirk was penning these gloomy reflections, a reaction against dominant liberal ideas in America was indeed taking place. Trenchant critiques of liberal orthodox opinions were being published, and small groups of writers and thinkers were publicly identifying themselves as conservatives. On Kirk's return to the United States in 1953, he discovered to his amazement that his book, which he thought to be no more than an obscure study of intellectual history, had become the basis for a sizable revival of interest in conservative ideas. By 1954, Francis Wilson called it "one of the most important books of the present time." A year later, Thomas Molnar, largely on the basis on *The Conservative Mind*, had listed Kirk as one of the leading intellectuals in America. By 1960, M. Stanton Evans noted in his book, *Revolt on the Campus* (1961), that in surveys carried out on campuses, college conservatives considered Kirk to be one of the major influences on their thinking outside of Buckley, Goldwater, and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

RUSSELL KIRK

Kirk's sudden burgeoning popularity among conservatives was due to his eloquent articulation, resuscitation, and defense of the lost conservative tradition. "In the teeth of Liberal assertions that conservatives are superannuated and inarticulate," wrote M. Stanton Evans, "Kirk hurled a monumental defense of the conservative philosophy. He was young (then thirty-five); and he was obviously well-read; and he wrote with an eloquence and power that could be neither ridiculed nor ignored."

The book's major contribution to the conservative movement was its revived interest in Burke's political thought. Through Burke, conservatives apprehend the principles of natural law and prescription—long-established rights, moral precepts, and custom—which are fundamental to traditional conservative thinking. Nowadays hardly a conservative is unaware of Burke's ideas. Although Burke would undoubtedly be important to conservatives even without Kirk's efforts to clap him onto the modern conservative movement, Kirk's persistent articulation and defense of the Burkean position has enormously increased the Old Whig's influence.

Above all, perhaps, Kirk's book helped make the conservative argument a respectable intellectual doctrine, one that could not facilely be dismissed by the lively liberal intellects as ossified and moribund. The conservative philosophy could no longer be ignored as fuddy-duddy Babbittism. It was a position with which the liberals would eventually have to grapple. Young students of political ideas today are reading Burke, Adams, Calhoun, and Eliot largely because they first discovered these writers in *The Conservative Mind.* They attend meetings of the Young Americans for Freedom or the seminars of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute because they wish to find a forum to discuss what they first discovered through their reading of Kirk.

Nowadays, Kirk does not perceive the future of conservatism to be a rout. His writings have taken a markedly optimistic turn. The American political pendulum, he now argues, is moving toward his own Burkean principles. "Quite apart from party struggles," he wrote in the middle sixties, "the American nation seems destined to grope its way toward conservative measures, for the next decade and perhaps the next generation." Several years ago, he noted in his newspaper column the progressive growth of conservative ideas: "American conservatives are in the middle of their journey: that is, their revived strength has been growing for the past 18 years, say; about 12 years from now, they may be at the height of their influence. For in America, as in Britain, about three decades must pass before a body of ideas can be popularized and come to dominate public policy."

His conclusions in *The Conservative Mind* are therefore hopeful: "Certainly the conservatives have been routed, forced back from ditch to palisade; but they never have surrendered; and today, when the ranks of radicalism are decimated, timorous, and afflicted by internecine ferocity, conservatism has such an opportunity for regaining ground as it has not seen since that day when modern radicalism issued its challenge to traditional society by decorating 'this hell-porch of a Hotel de Ville' with human heads on pikes."

Whether conservatism is destined to flourish or perish, Kirk argues that first of all conservatives must understand their tradition. "If a conservative order is indeed to return," he tells us in the first pages of the book, "we ought to know the tradition which is attached to it, so that we may

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rebuild society; if it is not to be restored, still we ought to understand conservative ideas so that we may rake from the ashes what scorched fragments of civilization escape the conflagration of unchecked will and appetite."

Kirk's greatest achievement has been to educate American conservatives on their tradition. It is that purpose that *The Conservative Mind* has so ably served during the past two decades.

W. Wesley McDonald

*

The Great American Saloon Series

*

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by Aram Bakshian, Jr.

*

The Men's Bar, National Press Club

(WASHINGTON)—The trouble with most great American saloons is that they no longer exist, a conclusion reluctantly reached after the most thorough possible research (witnessed by the palsied scrawl of this article in original manuscript). True, some of the grand old watering holes still survive in name, a few even with authentic trappings, but the overall impression left by such relics is one of real rather than figurative embalming fluid. Often they seem to be sterile museum exhibits of a dead way of life. Others have changed everything but the name. Exeunt sawdust, brass rails, and cuspidors; enter dim lighting, juke boxes, and not-so-beautiful people in quest of a transient hump.

Drinking, once a noble pursuit for its own sake, is relegated in such cases to the role of psychic lubricant, raising the audacity of the randy boob and lowering the inhibitions of the lonely boobess, preliminary to the real business of the evening which, in any event, is seldom consummated on the premises. No doubt this is all quite commendable in its way. The flow of bumpkin legions to the city, and their dubious metamorphosis into smart young moderns with ample leisure time and pocket money (and an almost total lack of creative imagination) has made itself felt amongst the race of publicans. For once I can't say that I find the free market principle in action very edifying.

No matter. While amateur sex has been going public, serious saloon keeping has been going private. Tasteful tipplers and discerning dipsomaniacs can still find solace in a number of good private club-bars around the globe and revel in an ambiance that, fifty years ago, was typical of the better sort of saloon. In London there is White's for the blue-bloods and millionaires, the Carleton for deep-dyed Tories, the Savile for Aesthetes, and the Savage for authors, artists, and professional men, to mention only a few.

New York can also boast a long and varied list, as, on a smaller scale, can my native Washington where the Metropolitan Club opens its doors to the oldest families and fattest Babbitts, the Cosmos Club to literary men and scientists, and the National Press Club to captains and camp followers of the Fourth Estate. The National Press Club is by far the most disreputable of the three, and by far the most fun. It is not so much a club as a series of bars, sometimes as many as six of them simultaneously pumping nectar into the ever-yawning maws of the capital's scribblers, news sources, and PR men.

I have been in love with the splendid, squalid old place ever since we first met, despite the disparity in our ages (it had already passed the half century mark and I was still a callow teenager, editor of my prep school newspaper at the time). The long panelled corridor, embellished with front page mats of a bygone era, the dignified main lounge with its overstuffed sofas and wing chairs and the yellowed Edwardian nude who looks down from the east wall, through generations of cigar smoke and alcohol fumes, with a smiling detachment that the late Mrs. Keppel (mistress-in-chief to Edward VII) would have envied; the library with its odd assortment of classics, trivia, and snoozing senior members; the grand ballroom which so many visiting celebrities and heads of state have used as a forum during their Washington forays; the small lounge with the large window over-looking most of Washington and, before the sun sets, the Potomac as it flows toward Mount Vernon; all of them remain today much as they were when I first saw them. Scant reupholstering and few fresh coats of paint have been more than countered by the pleasant, gradual process of decay and the pervasive sense, strengthened with each passing day, of countless hours merrily misspent within club confines.

But the nerve center of the Press Club, its true essence, is to be found in the Men's Bar (nowadays, the sex barrier having been broken, it is sometimes referred to as the Tap Room). Fortunately, the few ladies that enter are usually either strikingly pretty and therefore permissable for scenic value, or such hardened old reportorial harridans that one hardly thinks of them as sex objects.

At the Press Club, the sexual revolution has been nonviolent and inoffensive, a true phoney war with no killed or wounded on either side. Those who think otherwise do so at their own peril.

During the last club elections, for example, a well-intentioned lady running for the Board of Directors made carpeting the concrete floor of the Men's Bar a keystone in her platform. Had she advocated wall-to-wall sawdust, the old girl might have stood a chance but carpeting—my God. She was badly beaten by an old Turk, the venerable syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander, and one doesn't hear much silly reform talk about the bar anymore, praise be to Allah.

But bare floors and brass rails alone do not a great American saloon make. The three prime requisites are good booze, good bartenders, and good conversation. In all three departments, the Press Club scores well.

Most of the better Bourbons and Scotches are always on hand along with a good range of assorted *aperitifs*, liqueurs, and liquid rubbish of the Compare and Dubonnet varieties. The Martinis are excellent and, besides all of the major imported and domestic bottled beers and ales, one has a good choice of lagers and even Watney Bitter on tap. The less said about most of the wine the better.

So much for the dispensibles. As for the dispensors, they are an altogether worthy lot, including several stout, veteran Hibernians, an obliging Nubian or two, and the intellectual doyen of Washington tapsters, the redoubtable John Prokof—a keen chess player and philosopher manque of Lithuanian origin who views the world, and its microcosmic reflection in the form of his clientele, with a good-natured contempt that is wholly warranted.

Any evening you might find a mixed forest of journalistic saplings, spruces and burnt out stumps, babbling profound nonsense and nonsensical profundities—local press, foreign correspondents, members of national bureaus, a large Commonwealth Contingent (the Canadians seem the best behaved of this lot, and are almost always well-read, civil and house broken), and whatever else chance happens to blow through the swinging door. Even on the worst of evenings, there will be a sprinkling of literate sots spouting Shakespeare, remembering Mencken or reciting lurid episodes from the dynastic vendettas and internecine strife that comprise the internal politics of the Club (just now, alas, the liberals seem to have the upperhand).

You never know who might walk in, who might pass out, or who might suddenly decide to leave via a window, as happened a few years ago with a despondent veteran member. Since the Club occupies the thirteenth floor of the National Press Building, such exits are not encouraged.

It's a good club, a great saloon, and definitely worth experiencing. But, be warned, those haunting and haunted old corridors have a way of becoming habit forming and, although the Surgeon General has never said so in so many words, I suspect that, in many cases, they can be hazardous to your health. □

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Brudnoy's Film Index

■ **Busting**: Vice-squad cops Elliot Gould and Robert Blake doing society's most important work: busting whores, raiding gay bars, intercepting dope peddlers, frustrated by the crime lord's muscle and cop connivance, I rooted for the criminals.

■ **Cinderella Liberty**: James Caan as a sailor with heart of gold, ready to undertake the regeneration trip with a "champagne-cocktail-sipping cock-teasing barroom chippie," whose only baggage is a twelve-year-old mulatto son and another kid on the way. Sailors' dreams never die.

■ **Day for Night**: Truffaut's song to the cinema, an intricate, yet easy ramble through the ironies of movie-making within the well-made flick. A French connection worth making.

■ **The Day of the Dolphin**: George C. Scott and Flipper redivivus. An inspired idea: mate Jonathan Livingston Seagull and this dolphin and you come up with George McGovern.

■ **Don't Look Now**: Psychics, visions, ghosts? Daughter of *The Exorcist*.

■ **The Exorcist**: *De debbil* made her do it! A superior scare-em-upper, not for the squeamish or for those who would revive the blasphemy laws. The only major film in years attracting hordes who *know* they'll be sick afterwards. Compelling, like a cobra's wink.

■ **The Last Detail**: Jack Nicholson as a seaman taking a petty thief off to an eight-year prison sentence, giving the boy one last good time. This one opens the heart, but don't think about it too hard.

■ **Magnum Force**: Dirty Harry Calahan (Clint Eastwood) is back, routing out fascistic rookie cops whose trip is eliminating criminals beyond the reach of the law. Harry is not quite convincing as Mr. Scrupulous Law, wooden as ever, but the flick does give us Hal Holbrook as a nasty, for once.

■ **The Paper Chase**: It won't go away. The prof gets all the best lines in this asinine tale of hard times at Harvard Law. Harvard is reliably reported to have survived. The film-goer can too, by staying home.

■ **Papillon**: Dustin Hoffman and Steve McQueen in for the long haul in French Guiana prison. A puff for prison reform, at the very least, and guess which man named D*LT*N TR*MB* is involved behind the scenes. Humorless and endless and not for the lepidopterist in the family.

■ **Serpico**: Based on Peter Maas' true story of the honest cop—*there's* a happy thought—who blew the whistle on cop corruption in New York. Al Pacino is splendid, the film is rough around the edges, hopelessly idealistic in the liberal direction and depressingly cynical. Alas, the facts square with the film: New York cranked out the Knapp Commission, it went merrily on its way, and then? Then—nothing much. The cops are *still* on the take, and not just in Spraypaint Village. Lots of Oscar nominations will go to this one, and Pacino is sure to win (or come close) to the best acting award of the year.

■ **The Seven-ups**: More cop time: four brutal policemen, the now requisite chase scene (ho hum, hum, hum); part of the *Zeitgeist* on screen, now that blaxploitation flickers have petered out and Kung-phooey films have ai-EEEed their way into everyone's spleen.

■ **Sleeper**: Woody Allen to the head of the class. A superlative parody of twenty-first century life. By the by, MacDonald's are still the volk-food in these United States.

■ **The Sting**: Newman and Redford easy on the take, lovable con men, outwitting the baddies, looking smashing in 1930s duds.

■ **The Tall Blond Man With One Black Shoe**: Easy French farce, chuckles rather than guffaws, a soufflé, for fans of the droll.

■ **Walking Tall**: The most amazing comeback in recent film history, this bomb in 1973 has found its audience at last: take the law in your own hands and clean up evil, sheriff Pusser (Joe Don Baker). Needs a transfusion of humanity.

Book Review

This Beats Working for a Living

by Professor X
Arlington House $5.95

THE WRITING AND publication of this book were inevitable, for, in the realm of nonfiction these days, book buyers appear to cherish most the debunking of myths. We have been treated to books which attack such honored American institutions as motherhood, political campaigns, Las Vegas, the Mafia, the Buckleys, and pesticidal panaceas. What institution carries more honor, respect, dignity, and authority than that of the college professor?

Professor X, his pseudonym being used lest otherwise he place his job in jeopardy, argues that the job of being a professional college teacher is not all that it seems to be. He holds these truths to be evident: that most professors do not work for their pay; that they rarely have had to work for a living outside the academic community and consequently would starve if they found themselves without a job; that the work load they carry from teaching courses and attending to committees is usually insufficient to consume much of their time, the result of which phenomenon is that one can often find professors holding part-time jobs off campus or devoting most of their week to preening dogs or other such felicities; that they cannot teach; that they are eminently boring; and that, under normal circumstances, they don't give a whit about keeping up with the latest developments in their scholarly fields of endeavor.

Get the picture?

It's rubbish. All of it.

Rubbish because Professor X presents no firmer foundation for his argument than his own experience and what he has heard second hand from his colleagues. Rubbish because most every sentence in the book which purports to make a wholesale attack on the career of a college professor is a generalization with no substantial support. Note the following statements, carefully extracted so as not to be taken out of context: "there is probably no area of more abysmal ignorance among college professors—and that is a mouthful of a statement—than the laws against plagiarism. . . . It will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the college scene to learn that the biggest problem a professor has in dominating his class is the students who sleep through his lectures. . . . because most professors cannot write graceful, readable, literary prose, God help the poor scholar who does. The most certain way to become suspect within the academic community is to write a book that sells other than to the captive market of students. Let the public buy and read your work and you are accused of that most heinous of crimes—being a popularizer. The logic is flawless."

Flawless, Professer X? Well then, what of Professor William H. Gass, Professor of Philosophy and his much respected, popular works of fiction? Of Professor Joyce Carol Oates and her well received novels? Of Professors Carolyn Heilbrun, J.I.M. Stewart, and C. Day Lewis, all of them competent, respectable scholars as well as successful writers of mysteries? Such a list could go on and on and on.

If his employer ever finds him out, Professor X will be fired not for his exposé but for general reasons of incompetency. And, on the basis of his sophomoric generalizations, his own graceless prose, his cowardice masked behind anonymity, and his bungling of what still remains a useful subject for a book, you'd do well to avoid *This Beats Working for a Living*.

Steven Finer

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Current Wisdom

LUMPEN INTELLIGENTSIA

Clear-headed commentary by one, Hunter S. Thompson, Ph.D., professional idiot and current geek in the salons of advanced culture:

Nixon, at least, was blessed with a mixture of arrogance and stupidity that caused him to blow the boilers almost immediately after taking command. By bringing in hundreds of thugs, fixers and fascists to run the Government, he was able to crank almost every problem he touched into a mindbending crisis. About the only disaster he hasn't brought down on us yet is a nuclear war with either Russia or China or both . . . but he still has time, and the odds on his actually doing it are not all that long. But we will get to that point in a moment.

—New York Times

RELIGIOUS NEWS

Proof that certain of man's universal proclivities pop up even in the arcanum of eastern psychoanalysis:

After a lunch break we settled into the serious business of making contact with the primordial vibrations of the universe. We were instructed to sit up straight, keep our eyes on the mahatma and answer all his questions in loud, clear voices. The first step was for everyone to take all the money out of his pockets, present it at the foot of the altar and express eternal gratitude and devotion to Guru Maharaj Ji. "If all you have is a check, sign it so that it can be cashed," instructed the mahatma. One boy was found to be holding out enough for his bus fare home. "What if Guru Maharaj Ji doesn't want you to go home?" asked the mahatma.

—New Republic

CULTURE FOR CLODS

Another glimpse into the colossal minds that make high American art what it is today:

Still, many of his most avid fans regard Dylan's later work far less exciting than his earlier, more troubled writing. Les Allen, 23, who teaches at two local Montessori schools as well as the Chicago Institute of Art, said, "I've been listening to Dylan since 1966. I've been really heavily into him for about the last five years. *Nashville Skyline* (one of Dylan's country albums) is okay, but it's not the Dylan I needed when I listened to him back then. I mean, I was going through some personal changes, and his crazy imagery was a good escape for me.

"I hope he performs the old things and not too much of the country stuff."

George Toth, 20, a university student, hitchhiked to Detroit to hear the concert.

"He came to Detroit in 1964," said Toth, "which means I was in the 6th grade, so obviously I didn't get to see him then. I really liked his earlier stuff, from the mid-'60s. It's full of such clear vision."

—Washington Post

"Whom the gods destroy they

first make mad"– Euripedes

THE TRIALS OF SCHOLARSHIP

Proof that even the most prodigious scholars fall into moments of despair while probing the wellsprings of a genius:

We'll never know about Marilyn Monroe. That is the secret of her power over our imagination, the essence of her sexual myth. Or myths. She lives in mystery with us.

—New Republic

SILVER LININGS

Curious observation related by an observant reporter from the *New York Times*, Mr. Herbert Mitang:

At the Pentagon the other day an Air Force general, with straight face, declared that the thousands of craters caused by B-52 bombing had a positive effect. "We have helped to create a fish farming industry in the watered holes for the Vietnamese peasants," he said.

—New York Times
January 15, 1974

FROM PLATO TO CRONKITE

Walter Cronkite, gas bag, reveals an advanced theory of justice:

. . . I'm proud of those (newsmen) who have the courage to expose the culpable even when they know they might hurt the innocent. . . .

—Human Events
December 8, 1973

AN ODD FELLOW

Walter Cronkite, T.V. personality, solemnizes the idiotic:

. . . as a class when all of our wrongs are many, we do not sin. There is a purity of intent in journalism that is unique. No man is our master. . . .

(addressing the National Press Club)

—Human Events
December 8, 1973

THE MAKING OF A PULITZER

An ambitious young reporter for the incomparable *Times* of New York makes a daring grab for stardom in the world of journalism:

It was not a record for mass murder. Nothing like My Lai. It was rather the on again, off again work over three years of a man police called a "sexual pervert" and neighbors called a polite . . . . etc.

—New York Times

STRAIGHT THINKING

Another persuasive rationcination from the women's fever:

Many college women perceive similarities between their status and the problems of blacks. "Sexual discrimination is the last socially acceptable prejudice," charges Bernice Sandler, director of the "women's project" for the Association of American Colleges. "In any number of situations, just substitute the word 'black' for the word 'woman.' Could you say 'I don't want to play against a black' or 'I don't want to hire a black'? But you can say that about women."

—Newsweek

KULTUR

Cultural reflections offered gratis to the Correspondence column of the fabled *Post* of greater Washington:

Tom Shales quotes Harvey Keitel (Nov. 7), actor in *Mean Streets*, as saying that he wants to make movies he believes in. "I don't want to do a movie where Raquel Welch runs around in a bikini . . . I want to do things my people can relate to."

If *Mean Streets*, one of the most violent films of any year, is something his people can relate to—and they are unable to relate to someone as wonderful as Raquel—I feel sorry for them. I am not about to knock *Mean Streets*. As Mr. Shales reports, it conveys environment brilliantly and the acting is first-rate. But I can take only one or two of these brutal films a year. I find it hard to "relate" to this kind of "realism," as my life has been spent among people who are basically peaceful, kind and law-abiding.

On the other hand, I find it easy and most satisfying to relate to the beauty, glamour, excitement, sense of adventure and fantasy, the charisma and delightful style that Raquel puts on the screen, whether she is cavorting in a bikini; or wearing skating togs for her marvelous portrayal of a roller games champion in the first-class action-melodrama, *Kansas City Bomber*; or smartly dressed up as a movie star in the excellent mystery film, *The Last of Sheila*; or costumed in 17th century finery for her role as Madame Bonacieux in the forthcoming remake of *The Three Musketeers*. Raquel is "Hollywood" at its finest, and even though she is way out of my class, I find her most enjoyable to "relate" to.

Robert C. Herber
Cinnaminson, New Jersey

—Washington Post

THE NEW WEBSTER

The Rt. Hon. Charles J. Carney, M.C., one of the House's most respected orators, manifests his great debt to the classics in discussing some red-hot legislation:

Spending this time going through legislative histrionics indicating how we feel about busing is not answering questions about the energy shortage. We are literally fiddling while America is running out of gas.

—Washington Post

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Correspondence

Dear Tyrrell:

Each time I pore through the endless acres of words-words-words in *The Alternative*, I deplore the way you miss the boat so much.

Oh, it's fun to ventilate one's soul of opinions, and that your writers certainly do. But you lack IMPACT for the simple reason you concentrate on OPINION instead of cold fact. Rhetoric, alone, is not enough.

Why not give us—each issue—an informative ARTICLE detailing such promising conservative movements as Abe Kalish's ACCURACY IN MEDIA . . . the small, brilliant cell at Washington that fights well and effectively against giants like NBC?

We need arcane opinions and esoteric mental masturbations like your column . . . yes. We need humor and satire, too.

But if we are to motivate specific ACTION . . . we need a few COLD FACTS.

Most sincerely,

Walt Seifert
Professor of Journalism
Ohio State University

Walt:

Thanks for the thoughtful suggestion and kind sentiments.

RET

To the Editor:

I have great respect for Lindley Clark's economics, but perhaps he should avoid the philosophy of ethics (*The Alternative*, February, 1974).

Corporations would not want to "influence politics" and make "illegal contributions" if they were not subject to unpredictable government regulation and expropriation, or if the state's police powers were never used to suppress competition. The immorality here is inherent in the structure of incentives that we have institutionalized. When businessmen have to bribe officials to let them conduct legitimate business, any immorality does not reside in the businessman's behavior.

"If the state controls all the means of production," says Mr. Clark, "and organizes them as a democratic majority dictates, that's as 'moral' as free enterprise." The quotes around "moral" imply that morality is simply a matter of opinion. Yet the statement expresses a strong moral judgement without giving any reasons for that judgement. The implicit standard is that whatever 51 percent want (e.g., burn the Jews) is morally right. But only free enterprise is consistent with the maximization of individual choice, and a society which removes the opportunity to choose also removes the opportunity for moral behavior. An individualist ethic —to replace Clark's majoritarian one—is that individuals should not be prevented from engaging in mutually satisfactory exchange (e.g., by price controls) unless that exchange harms third parties. No majority-rule socialism, if such a thing is possible, could operate in a manner consistent with this individualist morality. If a majority decides who shall produce what for whom, individuals would have to conform to that plan.

"If business enterprise does a good job of generating the wealth," says Mr. Clark, "the body politic can do as it pleases about the distribution of the wealth." This suggests that the personal distribution of wealth or income has nothing whatsoever to do with the creation of goods and services. The former is decided by political influence; the latter by "business." None of Mr. Clark's other writing suggests that he doubts the efficacy of economic incentives, so this statement must be a description rather than a prescription.

Real incomes are ultimately determined by what others are willing to give up to acquire our services. Consumers prefer to buy goods and services produced by bright and industrious people, and then they are surprised to find that bright and industrious people have higher incomes. But the higher incomes represent consumers' valuation of additions to the income stream, and are not (except in cases of force or fraud) obtained at the expense of others. Consumers have other preferences which aren't very fair, such as discrimination against ugliness, but there is no reason to suppose that the same people will suddenly become pillars of economic justice merely by stepping into a voting booth. In fact, the main deviations from any defensible standard of economic justice are the subsidies awarded by our "democratic" government.

Alan Reynolds
New York City

to the editor,

your february's pulse was excellent. i am pleased that someone has dared to defend tom charles huston from the mob that unfortunately seems to include many so-called conservatives.

it is all too damn familiar. in 1965 i wrote a monograph for the then huac on the potential for isolated attempts at 'revolution' from the black sectors of our major cities. in a concluding chapter i noted the various possibilities open to the government in the case that such a danger actually materialized. in part i noted that the mccarran act still provided for selective detention and that the french had considered the use of passes in algeria. once the monograph was released the only news regarding it was that both i and the huac were calling for the detention of blacks.

in the huston case, i have attempted to argue with friends that although his proposals may have serious antilibertarian overtones (at least) that most people now have the hindsight to condemn exactly what they thought in 1970. how marvelous to have lived in arizona or indiana then. but in washington, on the garbage heap, the scene was one of paranoia brought on in part by the reality of the sds, plp, weatherpeople, black lunatics, and the seeming potential for jerry rubin and company to tear up the town. it was also the time of kent state and stanford. actually huston's contentions were mild compared with the talk at mat kane's local bar where both yafers and printers from a local newspaper spent the late hours.

huston has been tried and convicted not just by the kneejerk liberals and the bleeding hearts that would rather see the president lynched than bella abzug referred to as "mrs." i am also concerned because far too many of us in the right wing have not been as forceful and honest as you in defending huston and in explaining the conditions surrounding his "memo."

i recall visiting huston one day in his office next to the white house on the day preceeding the onslaught of the unwashed and the guard was leery of allowing an old cosmic cowboy into the innersanctums of government. tom charles came down and got me in and while our talk centered on the upcoming chaos at no time did he exhibit any rhetoric of the police state. as a one time leftist allow me to note that one horrendous fact of the right is its ability to forget its own people.

fraternally,
phillip abbott luce
scottsdale, arizona

To the Editor:

I am normally leery of those who write fan letters to publications, but, after reading the lead story in your January issue, I feel compelled to offer my humble praise.

Having taught English in a small girls' school in Cleveland for twenty years, I have long been disturbed by the mystical reverence with which Mark Twain has too long been afforded. His personal life, which is blatantly interjected in his writings, is known to have been reprehensible. As such, in all my years of teaching, I have never allowed my students to expose themselves or to be exposed to his works.

Continued luck in your iconoclastic exposure of American myths.

Sister O.F. Joyce
Cleveland, Ohio

To the Editor:

I have just received and read my first issue of *The Alternative*, and I want my $6.00 back . . .

I dare say you do not really care why I don't like your publication, but I'll tell you briefly anyway.

Your staff writers and editors, I'm afraid, have been carried away with their own infallible wisdom and somewhat overwhelmed by their combined scholastic brilliance and accumulated degrees.

When I took a "trial run" on your hook, I hoped for an _____ thoughtful publication that would "talk sense" about our political scene and public personalities. But that's not what I got.

My disagreement with many government activities and personalities and with the men on both sides of "the aisle" ranges from mixed to violent.

But I don't think these men are idiots—as your writers seem to—nor do I think that some "smarty-pants" collegians out in an Indiana corn field make much sense calling them idiots.

So, you lads can have your fun being very, very smug ridiculing what you don't agree with (but offering *no* intelligent "alternatives"), and probably accomplishing nothing except an accolade or two from your cohorts in your nightly gatherings in your Hoosier counterpart of McSorley's Ale House.

J.B. Wagstaff
Boca Raton, Florida

Erratum

There is a slight goof in my article "Energy Economics" (*The Alternative*, February, 1974) which I prefer to blame on some faceless printer: The line labeled *y* in the second graph should bump into the supply curve at the controlled price—not at the market price. This indicates that price controls not only increase demand but also discourage supply. Some supply response to higher prices can be expected even in the short-run: Companies like B.P. and Shell can send Arab oil to nonembargoed countries, and thus divert more non-Arab oil to us. Old domestic oil wells, which are idle because it is unprofitable to squeeze-out the last few barrels at controlled prices, might be brought into use.

The ingenuity of man will come up with all sorts of energy sources, and energy-saving devices, once the incentives are allowed to operate. One sharpie is already making fireplace logs out of dried leaves; others are running cars on manure. We could probably generate considerable power by simply burning all franked mail and most energy bills.

Alan Reynolds

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(continued from page 25)

falls of its own rice crops, as well as its inability to exploit Sino-Soviet differences. The North is also concerned that any blatant violations of the cease-fire accord would bring about the resumption of U.S. bombing. Thus for the time being the North seems content to continue strategic raids in the South, to attempt to expand Vietcong control over both population and territory in the South, and to force Saigon to accept the North's interpretation of the cease-fire accord.

Vietnam is a country that has been at war for more than two generations. And peace, as we understand it, will take at least another generation (precluding the total collapse of the South)—for Hanoi's present ruling cadre will never give up its aim of taking over South Vietnam. But after visiting the South one has to be impressed with the perseverence of the people, the legitimacy of the Thieu government, and by the very fact that life in that country can continue as remarkably as it does, given the conditions of constant war.

Americans, however, in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, have not adjusted so readily. As Robert Bartley (the Editorial Page Editor of the *Wall Street Journal*) recently wrote: Americans seem to have forgotten that whatever the inevitable outcome of Vietnam may be, ". . . the fundamentals of our policy in Vietnam were not sinister; the policy was not aggressive but basically defensive. The mistakes did not lie in our purpose, but in failing to understand the enormous difficulties of actually doing what we had in mind. Yet, few of those today who write the history of the Vietnam war remember it that way."

Perhaps even more fundamental for us today is that for young America the moral revulsion that came with the war has come to threaten and cloud the perception of youth with a myopic infatuation of the Hanoi regime. But South Vietnam has a story of its own that deserves to be told and I cannot help but believe that most Americans will at least listen (if they are given the opportunity).

En route to the States I thought of an observation once make by Morton Kaplan on the subject of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Kaplan said: "I know of no more decisive commitment a nation can make than to bring down the President of a friendly country in order to win a war." Thus if the United States were now to withdraw its support of South Vietnam (as many would have us), Kaplan continues, it would be like the man telling his pregnant girlfriend: "No, I made a mistake—let's call a halt to the matter now."

America, if it is not totally to ignore its international responsibility, has a commitment to South Vietnam and it is a commitment worth preserving. For if the Vietnam war taught us not what to do, it should also teach us what we need to do. □

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